


PERSON *of the* YEAR

TIME



the
GUARDIANS
and the
WAR ON TRUTH

JAMAL KHASHOGGI
Columnist. Murdered.

**WA LONE &
KYAW SOE OO**
Reporters. Convicted.

MARIA RESSA
Editor. Indicted.

**THE CAPITAL
GAZETTE**
Newspaper. Attacked.

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say hello in german

make a safe password

get a deal on a flight

unsend that sent email

leave on time

arrive at the right place

find your car

get there before they close

find a 4-letter word for assist

move that meeting

cancel that meeting

do the floss

find a thai place open now

take better pictures at night

learn something new

every day.



TIME

VOL. 192, NOS. 27-28 | 2018

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2018 | PERSON OF THE YEAR

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THE COVERS



Photographs by Moises Saman—Magnum Photos for TIME

From left: Jamal Khashoggi; the staff of the Capital Gazette, photographed in Washington, D.C., on Dec. 9; Maria Ressa, photographed in New York City on Nov. 20; Pan Ei Mon and Chit Su Win, wives of detained Reuters journalists Kyaw Soe Oo and Wa Lone, photographed in Yangon, Myanmar's former capital, on Dec. 3 holding images of their husbands

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Moises Saman photographing Shahidul Alam on Dec. 5 on his Dhaka, Bangladesh, rooftop

BEHIND THE SCENES

JOURNALISM IS A TEAM SPORT, THE SAYING GOES, and that's particularly true at TIME, where our co-founder Henry Luce helped pioneer the notion of "group journalism" nearly a century ago. To begin the process of choosing the Person of the Year, the entire staff gathers each fall—in person and patched in from around the world—for a spirited kickoff debate. As ever, the suggestions this year were fascinating and wide-ranging.

But as we narrowed our focus in the ensuing weeks, a connective thread emerged among the top contenders: the increasingly slippery nature of truth, and the many ways information is being used and abused across the globe. The world faces enormous, increasingly global problems that will require collaborative solutions, and yet what hope do we have if we cannot agree on the basic facts required to debate those solutions? And so we chose people—four individuals and one group—who have devoted their lives to seeking truth.

To help tell their story, we turned to photojournalist Moises Saman. In two decades of covering war and political upheaval, Moises has taken great risks himself, including a week's detention in the notorious Abu Ghraib prison by Iraqi authorities while covering the U.S. invasion in 2003. He has been blacklisted for his work—something he shares with the exiled journalist Can Dündar, whom he photographed in Berlin for this project.

That was one of eight stops Moises made in a whirlwind sprint that took him some 30,000 miles—more than the circumference of the earth—over 17 days. "It was very different people in many different

countries and many different contexts, but they all had this sort of common experience," Moises says of his subjects. "It takes a lot of courage for a lot of these people to stay doing what they're doing. It was really humbling."

Moises' resonant portraits are paired with a story by editor at large and veteran foreign correspondent Karl Vick, with reporting from 12 countries by Abigail Abrams, Laignee Barron, Ioan Grillo, Joseph Hincks, Eli Meixler, Josh Meyer, Katie Reilly, Matt Sandy, Simon Shuster, Feliz Solomon and Abby Vesoulis. The photography was guided by editor at large Paul Moakley, director of photography Katherine Pomerantz and photo editor Dilys Ng. The moving video was produced by Justine Simons, Arpita Aneja, Spencer Bakalar, Julia Lull, Francesca Trianni and Diane Tsai and edited by Alexandra Robson. The four covers were designed by creative director D.W. Pine, and the issue was designed by design director Chrissy Dunleavy, with Jennifer Panzer. The digital experience was created by Tim Klimowicz, Chris Jimenez and Andrew Dwulet.

"This year's choice may reflect ominous geopolitical trends," notes executive editor Ben Goldberger, who oversees Person of the Year, "but it also shows that regular people can have enormous influence by standing for something bigger than themselves."

Edward Felsenthal,
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF | @EFELSENTHAL

THE READERS' CHOICE

The seven-member K-pop band BTS took first place in TIME's online poll, which asked readers who they thought should be Person of the Year. Planet Earth came in second.

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SILENCE BREAKERS

What happens when the silence is broken

Last fall, a reckoning swept through society, giving rise to allegations of workplace abuse and harassment that had blighted lives for generations. Scores of powerful men, long immune to the consequences of their behavior, were toppled, as survivors found the courage to speak up and demand an end to accepting the unacceptable. *TIME* named these Silence Breakers the 2017 Person of the Year.

Recently, a group of 12 Silence Breakers reached out to *TIME* to explain the realities of life as whistle-blowers, as well as the unexpected network of support they found with one another. “Our battles are ongoing,” they wrote. But so, they say, is their bond. Through the many aftershocks of their revelations, they’ve kept in touch, sharing advice on everything from navigating the legal system to coping with online smears to finding a pediatrician after having to change not only jobs but cities, as Celeste Kidd did after filing a complaint alleging a culture of sexual harassment at the University of Rochester.

They explained that it can be as hard to keep speaking up as it was to come forward. “When this whole thing started, I was really like, How did this happen?” Adama Iwu, who organized an open letter calling out harassment in California politics, told *TIME*. “I didn’t want to embrace it, because it was kind of a scary thing. But [*#MeToo* founder] Tarana Burke told me, ‘Just do this, sis. You can do this.’”

Now Kidd, Iwu, Burke and nine others in this network—including actors Ashley Judd and Terry Crews—are looking to formalize and expand their push for enduring reforms. They shared this letter, outlining the work still left to do.

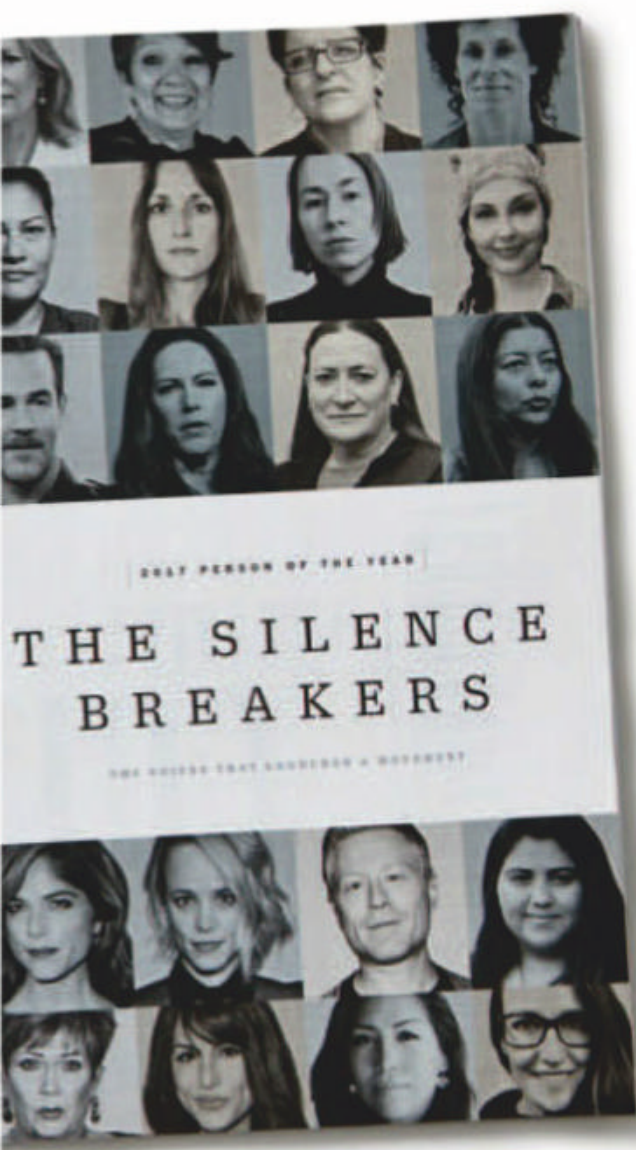
ONE YEAR AFTER *TIME* named us the Person of the Year as the Silence Breakers, we are all still fighting. Our silence breaking cost us jobs, professional opportunities, careers and, for some, our savings on legal fees. The public awareness of the injustices has reversed none of those pains. Yet not one of us regrets our decision to speak out.

TIME’s acknowledgment was an unexpected moment in the spotlight that brought us together and connected us with those who are struggling in the same way. We bonded despite differences in our careers, backgrounds and geography because of the commonalities in the problems we faced across our respective industries while fighting against abuses of power. We have watched in awe as individuals continue to come forward at great personal risk simply to call out injustice, from our own colleagues and students to the courageous Dr. Christine Blasey Ford. Simply by speaking, these people have already improved the world far more than their abusers ever could have. And contrary to expectations, the movement shows no signs of petering out. In fact, it has only just begun.



^
Last year, *TIME* interviewed dozens of people in at least as many industries about speaking up against sexual harassment at their jobs

While it has now become common to hear public accusations of abuse and misconduct, the movement has yet to achieve its most important goal of true accountability. Behind every Weinstein, Moonves, Cosby or Nassar, there is an entourage of enablers and those who chose to remain complicit. Some of them looked the other way, priding themselves on staying out of other people’s “business,” no matter how ugly it became. Some enablers bent to self-interests because their own reputations and careers were tied to powerful people who behaved egregiously. Some of them even encouraged or took part in this behavior—Who would ever have thought they could be caught?—and are lucky today to remain unnamed. Some are CEOs, managers, producers,



publishers, college presidents, deans, trustees, human-resources representatives or investigators in university Title IX offices. Behind an abuser, there is often an entire institution that lacks the moral courage to find fault.

Too often, leaders within institutions say they support feminist ideas but don't actually do the difficult work of real change. No leader of an organization who fails to create structures and incentives that protect its most vulnerable members should be left in charge. No person in a position of leadership who looks the other way should be in a powerful position that others might depend on. Did leadership create or permit an unsafe working environment? Just as there

are regulations protecting workers' occupational safety and health, the careers of those subjected to sexual harassment should be protected and defended. When companies, schools and organizations have positions in which people are expected to render ethical judgments, then a failure to do so even in a single case must be grounds for removal. That is what it means to take seriously the issues that motivated the #MeToo movement.

This kind of deep accountability requires us to go beyond our instinct to rage at those who most directly caused harm. In the media's eye, a quick resignation or apology is considered a fix that takes pressure off the organization. But in fact, a resignation should be the starting point for a meaningful investigation into understanding how, why and when the abuse began, and who is responsible for letting malignancy persist. And then whoever is responsible must face consequences.

The reality is that although we've witnessed spectacular media attention to the cause, we await structural progress. It's hard not to remember survivor Kaylee Lorincz's plea to Larry Nassar at his sentencing: "I only hope when you get a chance to speak, you tell us who knew what and when they knew it ... If you truly want us to heal, you will do this for us." True to form, Nassar refused.

Finding those who covered up is less immediate than firing the offender, but it is vastly more important to address the structural, bureaucratic and systemic problems that lead to the creation of abuse. Breaking the silence isn't really about calling out high-profile abusers but rather fixing the systems of power that let these people flourish. We need relentless accountability to create enduring change.

—CELESTE KIDD, AMANDA SCHMITT, SANDRA MULLER, JESSICA CANTLON, ADAMA IWU, WENDY WALSH, GABRIELLE EUBANK, LINDSAY MEYER, LINDSEY REYNOLDS, TARANA BURKE, TERRY CREWS and ASHLEY JUDD

WHEN SURVIVORS JOIN TOGETHER

By Mónica Ramírez

Last year, farmworker women captured many people's attention when Alianza Nacional de Campesinas (National Farmworker Women's Alliance) published what became known as the "Dear Sisters" letter in TIME. It was a letter written on behalf of about 700,000 women employed in agriculture to the women employed in the entertainment industry who had disclosed sexual violence against them by powerful people in their industry.

This was not an aberration for us. Over the years, we have demonstrated support on behalf of domestic workers, janitors and hotel workers, among others. Though the difference was that this time the world took notice.

As women, and as a society, we are finding our collective voice when it comes to speaking out against harassment, retaliation, violence and all the ensuing issues that come with them. In our pursuit of this shared voice, may we remember some important lessons: No one—no matter where they work—should suffer from workplace sexual violence. And, no matter the identity of the victim or the perpetrator, allies should feel a moral imperative to speak out so that victims will know that they are believed and supported. As we wrote in our first letter, "In these moments of despair, and as you cope with scrutiny and criticism because you have bravely chosen to speak out against the harrowing acts that were committed against you, please know that you're not alone."

The potential for monumental change resides in the reverberation caused by a message of shared concern and struggle. Millions of people worldwide have seen and felt this power over the past year.

May we never return to a time when an act of mutual care is deemed extraordinary or rare. Instead, may this be the way that we treat each other, look out for each other and show up for one another forever into the future.

Ramírez is a co-founder of Alianza Nacional de Campesinas

► Read the full version of this letter at time.com/alianza

Christine Blasey Ford's complicated legacy

By Haley Sweetland Edwards

EVEN IF YOU COUNT THE TIME TELEVISION CAMERAS lingered on her face after she left the packed Senate Judiciary Committee hearing room, Christine Blasey Ford's appearance on the public stage lasted less than 4½ hours. For any other well-known figure, that would be a blink of an eye. But for Ford, it was long enough to establish herself, for millions, as something of an American hero.

As she described having been sexually assaulted by then Supreme Court nominee Brett Kavanaugh when she was 15 years old, protesters in the Capitol scrawled WE BELIEVE on the palms of their hands. The hashtag #WhyIDidntReport exploded on social media—both a rallying cry for survivors and a rebuke to those who doubted that a woman might wait decades to come forward. Shirts emblazoned with Ford's face went on sale across the Internet; celebrities from Julianne Moore to Lady Gaga voiced their support for her; and Ford herself received more than 150,000 personal letters, from teenagers and middle-aged women and octogenarians, all of whom recognized themselves in her pain.

But in the weeks and months after that whirlwind, we're still grappling with her legacy. A year into a massive reckoning on sexual harassment, her experience was at once a galvanizing illustration of how much had changed and a poignant reminder of all that had not. After all, her decision to speak out despite her terror failed to move the needle among those in power on Capitol Hill. Just over a week after Ford's emotional Sept. 27 testimony, the Senate vote on Kavanaugh, who has "categorically and unequivocally" denied her claims, unfolded exactly as it might have had she not come forward at all. The man she had accused in such excruciating detail was honored with a lifetime appointment to the highest court in the land.

It was in this context that millions of Americans—and perhaps especially those who related to Ford's description of the aftereffects of sexual assault—felt something akin to a gut punch: What was the point?

PART OF THE FRUSTRATION arose from the fact that Ford was, in many ways, an ideal witness. She was likable, relatable and, as a professor of psychology, able to offer fluent explanations of brain science. When asked to account for the certainty of some of her recollections, she patiently explained how norepinephrine and epinephrine encode memories into the hippocampus. When asked how sure she was that it was Kavanaugh who attacked her more than three decades ago, she was unflinching. "One hundred percent," she said.

Ford was also perhaps an ideal witness in another way.



▲
*Ford is sworn in
before testifying
on Sept. 27*

Because her demeanor did not challenge persistent stereotypes about how a "good woman" should behave, viewers were forced to focus solely on the facts. During her testimony, Ford, who is a wife and mother, was unflaggingly gracious, soft-spoken and deferential. Not once did she interrupt a Senator. Not once did she refuse to answer a question. Not once did she become threatening or frustrated or—to use the word so often weaponized against passionate women—shrill. Particularly when contrasted with the distinctly male anger on display when it came time for Kavanaugh to speak, the gender dynamics surrounding her demeanor were hard not to notice, but she appeared to navigate their perils.

After her testimony, Republican



Senator Chuck Grassley, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, congratulated her for her bravery, and President Trump, rarely one to give credence to the claims of female accusers, called her a “very fine woman” and a “credible witness.”

The reaction among the top male Senators of the Judiciary Committee

If a woman like Ford could not halt the machinery of power, there seemed to be little hope for anyone else

gave many people a jolt of hope, if only because it stood in sharp contrast to the reaction that met similar testimony 26 years earlier. In 1991, when Anita Hill had come before the same committee to accuse then Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas of sexual harassment, she had been discredited, mocked and dismissed. This time around, Ford had been commended. The moment seemed to confirm that a profound and wished-for cultural sea change had taken place.

So when Kavanaugh was nevertheless confirmed, many who had done such wishing were devastated. If a woman like Ford could not halt the machinery of power, there seemed to be little hope for anyone else. In responding to reporters’ questions, Senators who voted to confirm the new Justice tended to perform a rhetorical balancing act. Some defended their votes by deflecting questions of Ford’s credibility. They believed that she’d been assaulted, they explained; they just didn’t believe Kavanaugh had done it. Others sidestepped the issue. Even if the assault did happen as she described, they seemed to suggest, it simply didn’t matter: no adult should be accountable for his behavior as a teenager many decades ago. Whether fully sincere or merely wary of backlash, they were nicer to Ford than their counterparts had been to Hill—but the system that undergirds their power forged ahead just the same.

And President Trump, after initially describing Ford’s testimony as “compelling,” showed that perhaps the optics hadn’t changed that much after all. At political rallies in the lead-up to the midterm elections, he began mocking Ford, imitating her inability to remember some details about the evening she was assaulted. “I don’t know. I don’t know,” Trump said, waving his hands. “What neighborhood was it in? I don’t know. Where’s the house? I don’t know.”

Soon conservative media jumped on the bandwagon. Right-wing firebrand Rush Limbaugh labeled Ford “the product of a Democrat Party operation,” while Fox News pundits questioned

the timing of her decision to go public, despite her explanations of how she’d made up her mind. Just weeks before the November elections, the controversy surrounding Kavanaugh’s nomination had become a political liability for Democrats. Polls reported that Republican voters, motivated by Ford’s testimony and Kavanaugh’s impassioned rebuttal, were now more likely to vote.

AND YET, around dinner tables and in online discussions, Ford’s supporters defended her legacy. Here was someone who had sacrificed her privacy and her family’s security because she believed it was her civic duty to tell her story. Here was someone who believed that a consideration of a man’s character was incomplete unless it took into account credible accusations of sexual assault. Here was someone who believed, ultimately, that a single voice could still make a difference. That those ideals are not always reflected in real life does not diminish them.

In the days after Kavanaugh was sworn in, the leaders of the #MeToo movement made this point in an open “love letter” to Ford. She showed that speaking up does matter—that the world is listening, even if the people in front of you are not.

Acts of heroism, after all, are not merely a means to an end. Even those who believe that Kavanaugh belongs on the bench may be hard-pressed to disagree. Ventura County Sheriff’s Sergeant Ron Helus, who rushed into the Borderline Bar & Grill during a mass shooting in Thousand Oaks, Calif., on Nov. 7, was no less valiant because he was killed by friendly fire. The late Senator John McCain, who refused to use his father’s connections to be released from a prison in Vietnam, was no less selfless because he was captured. Courage is not transactional.

In coming before the American public for not quite 4½ hours, Ford was regarded as a hero not because of the results she delivered but because, in doing what she believed to be right, she reminded the rest of us how it’s done. □

THE HISTORY

People who defined 92 years of influence

Statesmen. Heroes. Visionaries. Tyrants. Here's a look at who's been named TIME's Person of the Year—and why.

THE DECEASED

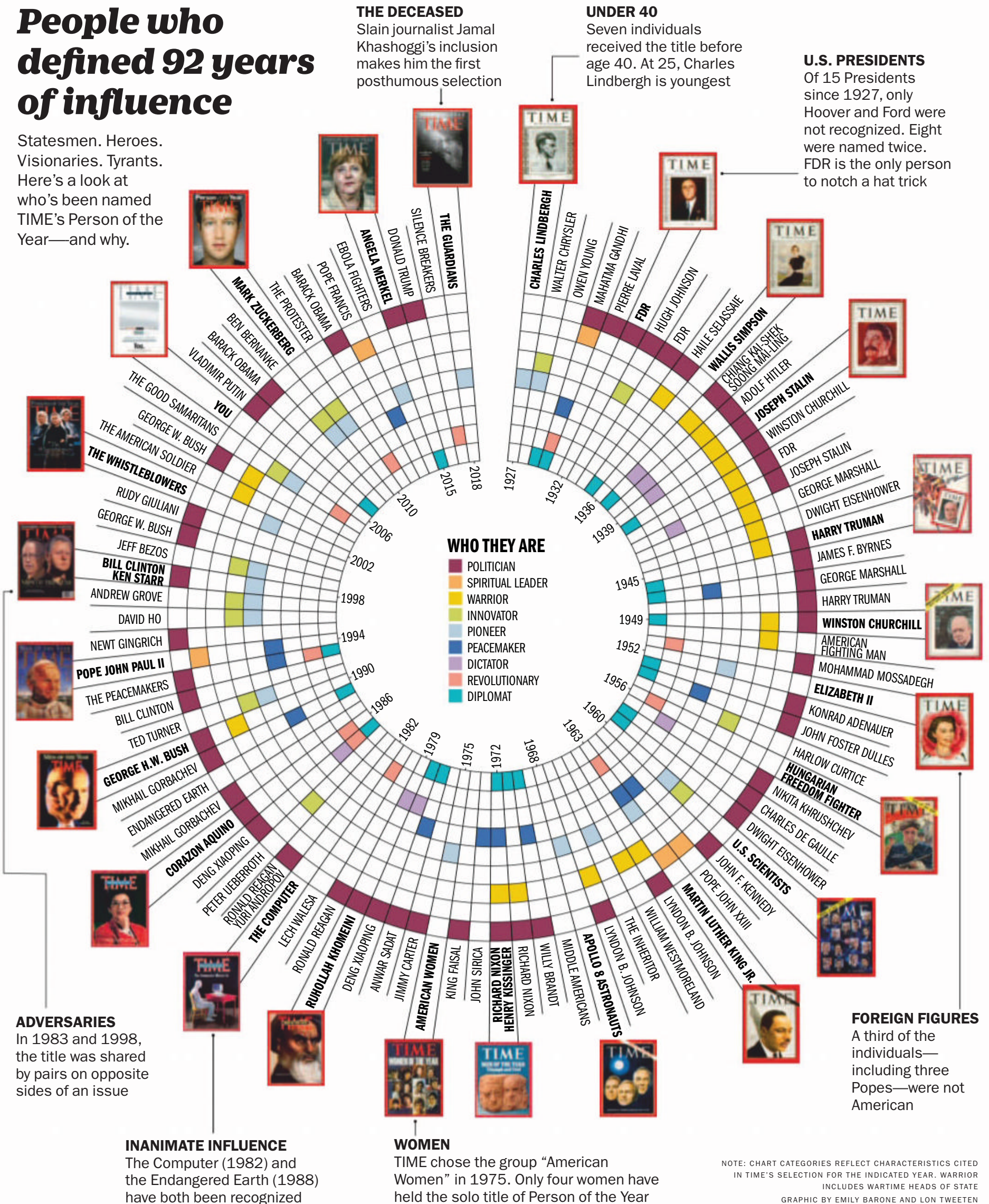
Slain journalist Jamal Khashoggi's inclusion makes him the first posthumous selection

UNDER 40

Seven individuals received the title before age 40. At 25, Charles Lindbergh is youngest

U.S. PRESIDENTS

Of 15 Presidents since 1927, only Hoover and Ford were not recognized. Eight were named twice. FDR is the only person to notch a hat trick



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Bihar, 5th Century AD

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Odisha, 13th Century AD

SPACE

PIONEERS

Men of the Year reunite after 50 years to reflect on a historic moon voyage

By Jeffrey Kluger

MOST YEARS HAVE AT LEAST A LITTLE something going for them, but 1968 was awful from the start. On just the 23rd day, North Korea seized the U.S.S. *Pueblo*, killing one sailor and holding the rest prisoner; on the 30th day, the start of the Vietnamese holiday of Tet, the Viet Cong launched a massive military offensive that cost more than 35,000 lives on both sides; on the 95th day, the Rev. Martin Luther King was murdered; on the 157th day, Senator Bobby Kennedy's murder followed; on the 233rd day, Soviet army tanks crashed into Czechoslovakia; on the 241st day, the Democratic National Convention in Chicago descended into violence.

The year was shaped—and soaked in—the blood that was shed. And then, on the 359th day, there was poetry. Three days earlier, the crew of Apollo 8—Frank Borman, Jim Lovell and Bill Anders—had rocketed away from the mess at home and ventured out to the moon, becoming the first human beings to reach and orbit our closest celestial neighbor.

They arrived, as history would have it, on Christmas Eve. During the eighth of their 10 orbits, they pointed a TV camera out of one of their five windows and showed a global audience of 1 billion—nearly one of every three people alive—the grainy, flickery but undeniably otherworldly sight of the ancient lunar surface crawling by below their spacecraft. As that image played, Anders began reading: “In the beginning, God created the heaven and the earth,” and then handed off to his crewmates, who took turns reading further verses from Genesis—verses of renewal in a year of loss.

Borman, now 90, was the commander of the mission and is often said to have made the call to read from Scripture, but he describes it as a collaborative decision.

“I didn’t choose it,” he said this past

October, when all three astronauts met with TIME to mark the 50th anniversary of their mission, at Chicago’s Museum of Science and Industry, where their spacecraft is displayed. “We all agreed it was the right thing to do.”

Half a century on, there are still lessons to be learned from the mission—about enterprise, about commitment, about how a shared undertaking larger than any individual can redeem, if not wholly heal, a fragmented nation.

AS WITH SO MUCH about the early space program, part of what drove the decision to fly Apollo 8 was geopolitics. The U.S. and the Soviet Union had been in a footrace to the moon since cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin became the first human being in space in 1961. In the summer of 1968, word began pinging across the intelligence web that the Soviets were going to skunk the Americans again.

“[Our flight was] going to be an Earth-orbital test of the lunar module,” says Lovell, also 90. “Instead we heard that the Russians were going to put a man or men around the moon by the end of 1968.”

So the decision was made in August that Apollo 8 should get there first, giving the crew and ground team just 16 weeks to figure out how to do it. Nobody had any illusions about how dicey a plan that was. Just the year before, the Apollo spacecraft had killed astronauts Gus Grissom, Ed White and Roger Chaffee in a launchpad fire before it had even made its first flight.

The Saturn V rocket that would be needed for a moon trip—a piece of ordnance so huge that if it blew up on the pad, it would produce a 2,500° fireball, 1,400 ft. in diameter—had had just two unmanned test flights. On the second one, it vibrated so badly, it nearly shook itself to pieces. That test would have made more news had it not occurred on April 4—the same 95th day of that ugly year as King’s assassination.

“Just four or five years before Apollo 8, they had the first test firing of the J-2 [upper-stage] engine,” says Borman. “And here we were riding a Saturn V to the moon. To me, it’s still a miracle that it went so well.”

Then too, there was a darker danger Apollo 8 faced. If the astronauts made it into lunar orbit but their engine failed to fire when



Fifty years ago, Apollo 8 astronauts Bill Anders, Frank Borman and Jim Lovell were a late but compelling choice for TIME's Men of the Year

*From left: Anders,
Borman and Lovell,
photographed
on Oct. 6, at the
Chicago museum
where their
Apollo 8 spacecraft
is displayed*



it was time to leave, rescue would be impossible. They would circle the moon forever.

“You’ll ruin the moon for everyone,” one of the Apollo 8 wives was said to have warned Chris Kraft, NASA’s director of flight operations.

But the crew did go into orbit and they did come home, and in the process they gave the world yet another gift: the celebrated photograph that came to be known as *Earthrise*, which Anders captured as they came around the lunar far side on their third orbit. It illustrated, as nothing else had, the fragility of our planet, and is widely credited with helping to kick-start the environmental movement.

EVEN FIVE DECADES LATER, Borman and Lovell, who were spaceflight veterans when they flew Apollo 8, continue to needle Anders, 85 now but the rookie of the crew then.

“I’m still trying to figure out who took that [picture],” says Borman, with a wink.

“Frank took it, I think,” Lovell answers.

“Bill took the picture,” Borman concedes.

“He didn’t want me to take it,” Anders mock-gripes, indicating Borman who, as commander, oversaw the picture-taking schedule.

When the crew splashed down in the Pacific on Dec. 27, it was clear that in the six days they’d been gone, a hinge in history had been turned. *TIME* was at that point considering its options for what was then known as the Man of the Year; the smart betting was that the choice would be Richard Nixon, who had been elected President the month before. But Nixon would be denied. A presidential election is quadrennial; Apollo 8 was epochal.

“It was elation, vindication, satisfaction, exaltation,” a *TIME* reporter in the Houston bureau wrote in a file he telexed to New York, describing the post-splashdown mood.

“There hasn’t been a night like this in the annals of space flight,” wrote another. “Within hours after splashdown, the staid and sober society surrounding the Manned Spacecraft Center came apart at the seams.”



The famous *Earthrise* photograph, shot by Anders on Christmas Eve 1968, captured all of humanity (save the three astronauts) in a single frame

So, in some ways, did the country. But unlike the first 361 days of the year, during which the national coming apart was an act of tearing, of rending, the 362nd day saw an exuberant bursting. “Thank you, Apollo 8. You saved 1968,” was the simple text of a telegram an unnamed American sent the crew.

That kind of collective joy—born of collective striving—can seem beyond us now. From the factory floor to the three men in the spacecraft, an estimated 400,000 people had a hand in making the lunar missions possible. Washington did its part too. The lunar program spanned four presidencies and eight Congresses, and while there was squabbling over scheduling and funding, there was bipartisan agreement that the larger mission would be seen through to the end.

The most recent four presidencies, by contrast, have seen America’s space goals change repeatedly: from the space station, to a return to the moon, to asteroid exploration, to Mars, to the moon again. That does not impress the old pioneers.

“NASA is banging around, hoping to get some direction, but mainly hoping to get some funding,” Anders says.

“You guys are wrong,” Borman laughs. “[Elon] Musk says we’re going to colonize Mars in the 2020s.”

The crew doesn’t dismiss the space entrepreneurs; indeed, they see them as part of an aviation tradition. “You had these nutty guys like Howard Hughes who invested their own money,” says Anders. “Some lost it, some made it. So you have to hand it to Musk.”

America could yet find its way back to the moon, either on public or private rockets. Nations do regain their sense of mission. The astronauts who made the long-ago journeys seem never to have lost theirs.

“I have never said it before publicly,” said Borman, with a clap on the knees of his crewmates as they sat together in Chicago, “but these two talented guys, I’m just proud that I was able to fly with them. It was a tough job done in four months, and we did a good job.”

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*Warren Boyd,
Founder and CEO of Wavelengths
Huntington Beach, CA*

"Every life has a waking moment."

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JIM DAVIS, Grand Rapids, Mich., on the Jan. 15 Optimists issue, curated by TIME's first guest editor, Bill Gates

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'The most balanced public discussion of gun culture and gun violence I have ever seen in print.'

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EARL MARTIN, Harrisonburg, Va., reacting to the Nov. 26/Dec. 3 cover, which showed a diverse reimagining of Norman Rockwell's *Freedom of Worship*

QUOTES

JANUARY

‘I will not rest until every last trace of your influence on this sport has been destroyed like the cancer it is.’

ALY RAISMAN, U.S. Olympic gymnast, in a sentencing hearing for former USA Gymnastics doctor Larry Nassar; he pleaded guilty to seven counts of criminal sexual conduct

‘Trust me, the women in this room tonight are not here for the food. We are here for the work.’

FRANCES MCDORMAND, referencing the #MeToo movement while accepting a Golden Globe for *Three Billboards Outside Ebbing, Missouri*

FEBRUARY

‘Can we call that treason? Why not?’

DONALD TRUMP, U.S. President, on Democrats’ not clapping during his State of the Union address; the White House later clarified that he was joking

‘O Canada! Our home and native land! True patriot love in all of us command.’

NEW, GENDER-NEUTRAL ENGLISH LYRICS to the Canadian national anthem, approved ahead of the 2018 Winter Olympics; the line previously referred to “all thy sons”

MARCH

‘Denuclearizing the peninsula is teachings from the ancestors.’

CHUNG EUI-YONG, South Korean National Security Office chief, reporting what **KIM JONG UN** said about a meeting between the North Korean leader and South Korean envoys in Pyongyang

APRIL

‘I wouldn’t change a single word.’

MICHELLE WOLF, comedian, defending her routine from the White House Correspondents’ Dinner; she faced criticism for her blistering take on the Trump Administration, particularly her jokes about White House press secretary Sarah Huckabee Sanders

JUNE

‘But my emails.’

HILLARY CLINTON, former U.S. Secretary of State, after a June 14 Department of Justice inspector general’s report found that former FBI head James Comey used personal email for official business

JULY

‘The biggest trade war in economic history so far.’

CHINA’S MINISTRY OF COMMERCE, characterizing U.S. tariffs on Chinese goods

AUGUST

‘Truth isn’t truth.’

RUDY GIULIANI, President Trump’s lawyer, discussing whether Trump should testify to special counsel Robert Mueller

‘We showed no care for the little ones; we abandoned them.’

POPE FRANCIS, on the report showing 1,000-plus children were molested by more than 300 Pennsylvania priests

SEPTEMBER

‘I am here today not because I want to be. I am terrified.’

CHRISTINE BLASEY FORD, in her testimony during confirmation hearings for Supreme Court Justice Brett Kavanaugh, whom she accused of sexual assault

‘I’m sorry it had to end like this.’

NAOMI OSAKA, tennis player, after she won the U.S. Open women’s singles title in a match marred by penalty calls against Serena Williams

‘History will judge her on her response.’

AMAL CLOONEY, human-rights lawyer, appealing to Myanmar’s Aung San Suu Kyi to pardon jailed reporters

OCTOBER

‘In the past I’ve been reluctant to publicly voice my political opinions, but due to several events in my life and in the world in the past two years, I feel very differently about that now.’

TAYLOR SWIFT, announcing on Instagram that she’d vote for Democratic candidates; voter registrations spiked right after

‘I choose love not fear. We exist and always have.’

LAVERNE COX, trans actor and activist, tweeting her response to news the government was mulling defining gender in a way that excludes trans people


NOVEMBER

‘I’m so f-cking proud of you guys.’

BETO O’ROURKE, Democrat, thanking supporters in a televised speech conceding the Texas U.S. Senate race to Republican Ted Cruz

‘This year is my last one as a member of the House.’

REPRESENTATIVE PAUL RYAN, Republican Congressman from Wisconsin and Speaker of the House, announcing his retirement, on April 11



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struggling
with drugs.**

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FIRSTS & LASTS

By Megan McCluskey

JAN. 22

Amazon Go

First cashierless convenience store opens to the public in Seattle

FEB. 4

Philadelphia Eagles

First Super Bowl win in franchise history

MARCH 4

Jordan Peele

First black writer to win the Oscar for Best Original Screenplay

MAY 16

Kashmir

First Ramadan cease-fire in 18 years is declared by India against rebels in the disputed territory

MAY 17

Gina Haspel

First woman to lead the CIA is confirmed by the Senate

JUNE 12

President Trump

First sitting U.S. President to meet a North Korean head of state

AUG. 2

Apple

First public company to achieve a market capitalization of \$1 trillion

SEPT. 7

George Papadopoulos

First Trump adviser to be sentenced in Robert Mueller's special-counsel investigation

OCT. 17

Canada

First day of nationwide legal marijuana sales

NOV. 25

Babies

First humans have been born with CRISPR-edited DNA, scientist claims

JANUARY

FEBRUARY

MARCH

APRIL

MAY

JUNE

JULY

AUGUST

SEPTEMBER

OCTOBER

NOVEMBER

DECEMBER

FEB. 22

Lindsey Vonn

Last Olympic event for the star American skier

MARCH 6

Teachers' strike

Last day of the West Virginia walkout that shut down public schools across the state

MARCH 20

Northern white rhino

Last living male of the endangered subspecies dies in Kenya

JUNE 29

Toys 'R' Us

Last stores close as part of the retailer's bankruptcy liquidation process

JULY 31

Justice Anthony Kennedy

Last day serving on the U.S. Supreme Court

SEPT. 18

Boeing 777

Last flight of the first plane of that model, which was retired to a museum

NOV. 11

Parts Unknown

Last episode of the late Anthony Bourdain's travel show airs on CNN

NOV. 16

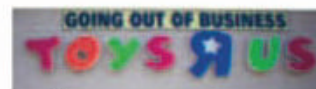
Kilogram

Last day being officially defined by the weight of a metal cylinder kept in a vault outside Paris

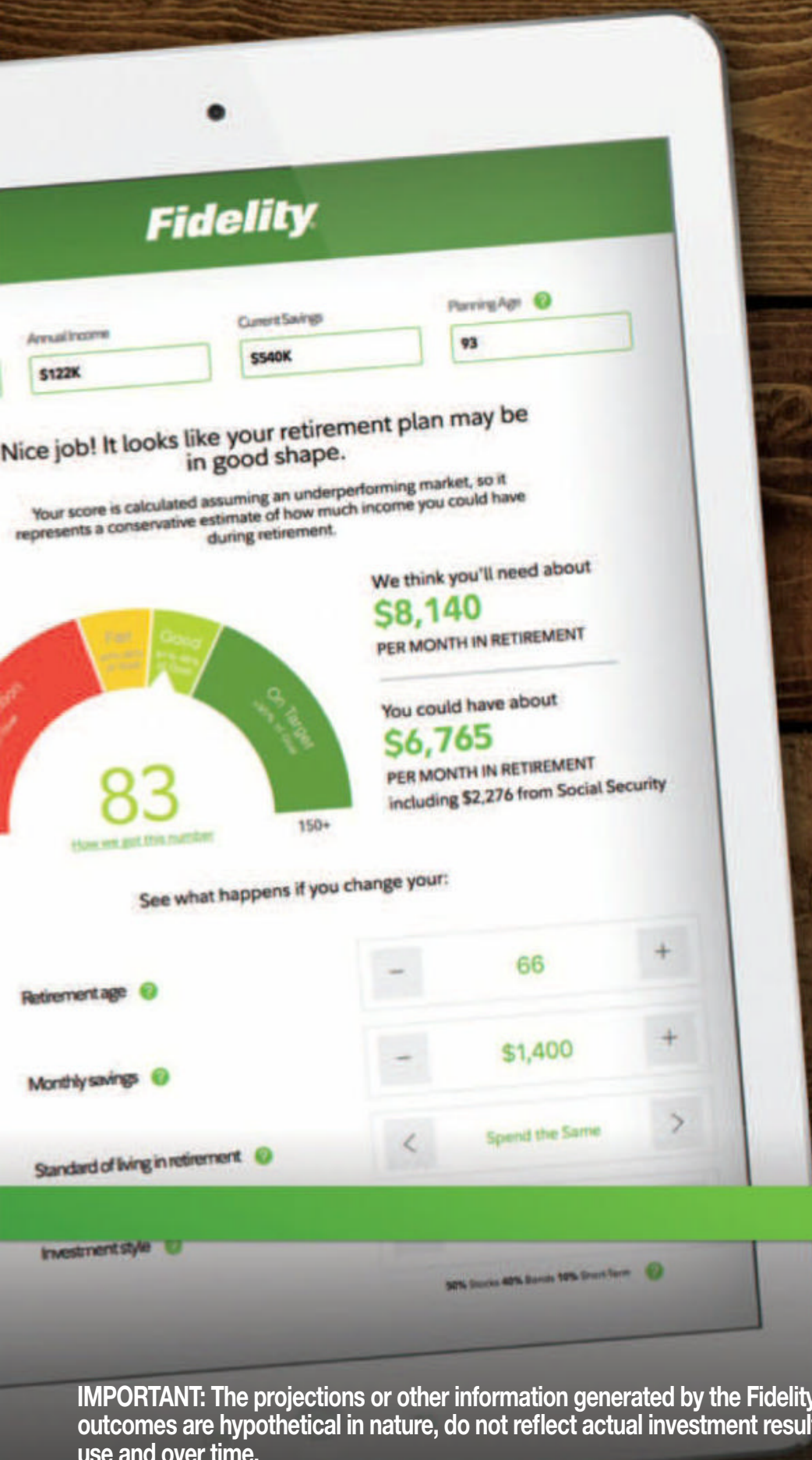
DEC. 8

Angela Merkel

Last day serving as chairwoman of the Christian Democratic Union party in Germany



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THINGS

By Megan McCluskey



Artwork

The Smithsonian's new Obama portraits



MacGuffin

The universe-bending Infinity Stones from *Avengers: Infinity War*



Formalwear

Meghan Markle's Givenchy wedding dress



Mascot

Googly-eyed Gritty, of the Philadelphia Flyers



Accessory

The midterms' "I Voted" stickers



Bauble

Ariana Grande's (brief) engagement ring



Underwear

Rihanna's size-inclusive Savage X Fenty lingerie



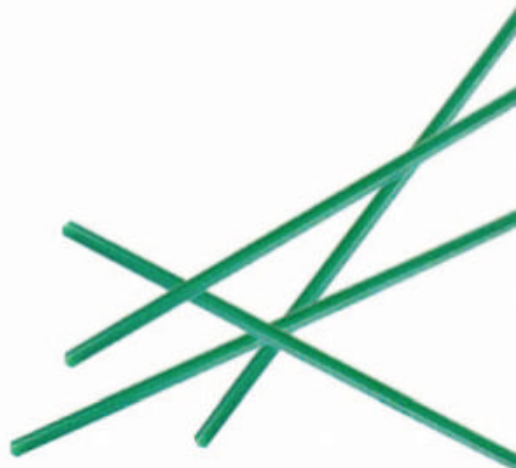
Condiment

Slice of Sauce's sliced ketchup



Document

Brett Kavanaugh's 1982 calendar



Disposable

Starbucks' phased-out plastic straws

Acronym

IHob, for when IHOP temporarily became the International House of Burgers



Toy

Stuffed Pooh bears tossed on the ice for Olympic skater Yuzuru Hanyu



Outerwear

Melania Trump's "I Really Don't Care" jacket





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Cancer comes with many different challenges. That's why we provide free rides to chemo, a free place to stay near treatment, and a 24/7 helpline for advice and support.

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CONTENT FROM ALLY

THE 2018 TIME DEALER OF THE YEAR CEREMONY (LEFT TO RIGHT) JACIE BRANDES, V.P. GROUP DIRECTOR, MEREDITH CORP.; JACK SALZMAN, 2018 TIME DEALER OF THE YEAR, AND WIFE ROBIN SALZMAN; DOUG TIMMERMAN, PRESIDENT OF AUTO FINANCE, ALLY FINANCIAL

IN MANY HOUSEHOLDS, THE CAR IS AS

much a part of the family as Fido or Fluffy. What other consumer product gets humanized like our cars, which we often give a pet name like “Bessie” or “Buddy”?

That automotive genealogy actually starts at the dealership—many of which are family owned and operated. “If you ask any dealer what business they’re in, most are likely to answer that they’re in the people business first,” says Wes Lutz, 2018 National Automobile Dealers Association (NADA) chairman and president of Extreme Dodge Chrysler Jeep Ram Inc. in Jackson, Mich. “Obviously, that means customers, but it’s also true of their employees. An atmosphere where

employees feel valued is bound to radiate to customers.”

And because giving back is part of the DNA of local dealerships, the larger community benefits as well. Auto dealers contribute millions of dollars every year to local charities, but, as the saying goes, charity starts at home. Through the NADA Foundation, dealers provide support to employees in times of need. The most visible—and perhaps the most crucial lately—is the Emergency Relief Fund, which provides financial support after natural disasters.

Philanthropy is a big component of the TIME Dealer of the Year Award, which is celebrating its 50th anniversary and is perhaps the most coveted honor there is for a new-car dealer. The winner, along with the other 50 nominees, will be honored at the 102nd annual NADA Show in San Francisco on Jan. 25, 2019.

“At Ally, our motto is ‘Do It Right,’ and the dealers honored by the TIME Dealer of the Year Award are incredible examples of this philosophy,” says Doug Timmerman, the president of Auto Finance at Ally, which sponsors the award. “Not only are they successful businesspeople, but they also give back to their communities in remarkable ways. They understand that doing right by their customers and promoting causes they care about makes them better dealers and makes their neighborhoods stronger. Over the eight years that Ally has sponsored the TIME Dealer of the Year program, we have been inspired by these dealers and are honored to share their stories.”

As one of the largest providers of automotive financing, Ally offers a range of products and services to support the dealers who do so much to support their local communities. In addition to helping them optimize their business operations and improve service, Ally also helps dealers drive the adoption of digital initiatives to meet the evolving needs of their customers.

“For over a century, the auto industry has been the backbone of the U.S. economy,” adds Timmerman. “Dealerships play an important role in their communities—from small towns to big cities. In addition to working with their customers to deliver and service cars that fit their needs, dealerships also provide good-paying jobs and career opportunities to a diverse range of Americans.”

Clearly, cars represent so much more than the sum of their automotive parts. They represent economic growth, opportunity and family.

PART OF THE FAMILY

Locally owned car dealerships provide a family atmosphere that benefits not only consumers but employees and their communities as well.



2018 TIME DEALER OF THE YEAR
JACK SALZMAN, LAKE NORMAN
CHRYSLER DODGE JEEP RAM,
CORNELIUS, N.C.

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ERIC NIELSEN • MARY PACIFICO-VALLEY • JESSE PETERSON • SCOTT PETERSON • MARK POGUE • JAY PRINCE
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DAVID TAYLOR • MATTHEW WELCH • DOUG WILSON • HERBERT YARDLEY • JOHN YARK • STEVE ZABAWA

Nominees for the 50th annual TIME Dealer of the Year Award consistently exhibit exceptional leadership. Their dedication to doing right by others is evident both at their dealerships and in their communities. Congratulations to each of this year's nominees from all of us at Ally.

HEROES

THAILAND

The global crew that rescued a soccer team

By Feliz Solomon/Mae Sai, Thailand

THE FAILURE OF ANY ONE OF THE plan's delicately moving parts might have meant the difference between a miracle and a tragedy, but in the end enough went right. When the world united to save a team of young soccer players in Thailand who'd been trapped in a cave for more than two weeks, all of the boys made it out alive.

And six months later, they're not just alive—they're feeling great. One night in early December, the boys were smiling, singing along to a music video and slinging their arms around one another in the bed of a pickup truck as it wound up a hill to a monastery in Mae Sai, northern Thailand. Titan, the youngest member of the Wild Boars soccer team, was in his usual spot. The 12-year-old team captain is almost always seen glued to the side of assistant coach Ekkapol Chantawong, known by his nickname, Ake.

"We're very attached," says Titan, whose given name is Chanin Vibulrungruang. "He's my hero."

And with good reason: coach Ake, 24, helped save the lives of his team's members. He was with the 12 boys on the afternoon of June 23 when they entered Tham Luang Cave for a short trek to celebrate a teammate's birthday. But monsoon rains come quickly. As water filled the tunnels of one of Thailand's most complex underground cave systems, the boys were trapped. For the next nine days, Ake, a former Buddhist monk, kept them alive in the dark, without food, by leading them in meditation and showing them how to collect clean water dripping down from the stalactites.

"I don't think I'm a hero at all," he says, sitting cross-legged on the floor of the monastery, at a shrine that was built to commemorate their miraculous ordeal. "The real heroes are



all of the rescuers who saved us."

The Wild Boars didn't know it for those first nine days, but while they were trapped inside, the world outside was frantically trying to find them. As the first night fell, parents arrived at the cave to find bikes and cleats abandoned at the entrance to a waterlogged labyrinth. Some 30 hours after the

'We didn't actually think everyone would come out alive, but we knew that if we didn't dive, everyone would die.'

team's disappearance, Thailand's tireless navy SEALs began diving blindly into the tunnels, which were so saturated with debris that they couldn't see more than a few inches in front of their masks.

More than a thousand people would amass from at least seven countries to join the mission they led, overseen by then governor Narongsak Osottanakorn. What began as a small team of local responders snowballed in just a few days into a multinational search-and-rescue operation, joined by elite divers from the U.K. and elsewhere, a special operations unit of the U.S. Air Force and hundreds of other volunteers.

Not knowing if the boys were alive, climbers scoured the hillsides for alternative entries as drones and helicopters buzzed overhead. Divers swapped shifts through the tunnels; some said advancing against the current felt like climbing

TEAM: PHOTOGRAPH BY TIME; SHAWN POYNTER—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX



▲
Nearly six months after the rescue,
the team poses at the entrance to
Tham Luang Cave

the last stages of Everest. At last, on the night of July 2, two British divers lifted their heads from the frigid floodwaters in the cave and flicked a flashlight beam over the spindly figures they'd found.

"How many of you?" shouted John Volanthen, the diver who captured their contact on video. "Thirteen," a voice rang out. "Thirteen?" asked Volanthen. "Brilliant!"

THE EUPHORIA of finding the team alive quickly gave way to anxiety. With the whole world watching and heavy rains approaching, rescuers weighed three imperfect options: drilling a hole through the top of the mountain, waiting for waters to recede or suiting the

boys up and diving them out. The first was a logistical nightmare, and the second would leave the team underground for months as oxygen levels plunged. The last was dangerous even for expert divers—the mission's only casualty was a retired Thai navy SEAL, Lieutenant Commander Samarn Kunan, who died from lack of oxygen while supplying air cylinders along the route—but it seemed to be the only chance.

"We didn't actually think everyone would come out alive," says Josh Morris, the founder of a rock-climbing business in nearby Chiang Mai who helped coordinate the rescue, "but we knew that if we didn't dive, everyone would die."

The risky extraction plot, which launched July 8, hinged on one particular role with a skill set so specific that only a handful of people on earth could have done it. Somebody would have to go inside, sedate the boys so they wouldn't panic, suit them up and tether them to expert divers who would carry them out. Enter Dr. Richard Harris, an Australian anesthesiologist who happens to be a cave diver.

"It was just so unlikely. A lot of luck was involved to find them and get them out alive," says Ben Reymenants, a Belgian diver who took part in the mission. Was it a miracle? "Absolutely."

One by one—four the first day, four the second and five on the homestretch—the boys and their coach were relayed by land and air past a ripple of cheers along the ordinarily silent rural road to the provincial capital. When they woke up with no memory of their hours-long odyssey, they later recalled, all they wanted was a taste of stir-fried meat with chili and sweet Thai basil.

Now physically recovered—they showed off some skillful footwork in the temple parking lot—they have a new ambition. "We received help from so many people, in the future we want to be strong enough to help others in return," says Adul Sam-on, 14, the boy who replied in English when the divers found them. "The most important lesson we learned is that nothing is impossible." —*With reporting by* AM SANDFORD □

TENNESSEE

A BYSTANDER WHO STOPPED A SHOOTER

When a gunman entered a Waffle House near Nashville early in the morning on April 22, James Shaw Jr. didn't want to be a hero. He wanted to survive. Shaw, then a 29-year-old AT&T technician, had arrived minutes earlier with a friend. Moving toward the bathroom as the first bullets were fired, he had no escape in sight. "I had pretty much decided in my head that I was dead," he says.

But when he noticed the shooter had momentarily stopped firing and pointed the barrel of his AR-15 toward the ground, Shaw made a split-second decision. He rushed the shooter and managed to seize the rifle. Ultimately, four people were killed—but law enforcement said the number could have been far higher had Shaw, who suffered a bullet-graze wound and burns, not acted. He has since been called a hero by Parkland, Fla., shooting survivor Emma González, NBA star Dwyane Wade, *Black Panther* star Chadwick Boseman and Nashville Mayor David Briley. When he goes out in the city, he's frequently mobbed by people who want to thank him.

The day after the shooting, Shaw started a GoFundMe campaign that raised over \$240,000—the majority of which went to the victims' families, many of whom he's still in contact with. In August, he started a foundation to address gun violence. Shaw says he has flashbacks nearly every day, but he's started to heal by seeing a psychologist and spending time with his 4-year-old daughter. And he still insists he's not a hero for what happened at the Waffle House. "But maybe the things I've done since the incident are heroic," he says. "If I don't try to use this platform that I have in a responsible way, it's just going to keep happening." —*Samantha Cooney*



CALIFORNIA

A chaplain who drove through wildfire

By Katy Steinmetz/Paradise, Calif.

IN THE BOOK OF DANIEL, THERE IS A story about three men who refuse to worship a golden idol and the furious king who casts them into a furnace as punishment. To the royal's astonishment, the men are trapped in a searing fire, yet they do not burn. Because they have faith, they are protected.

This is the tale that Brad Brown, a hospital chaplain in Paradise, Calif., told the sick, scared people huddling inside his minivan as flames burned outside on Nov. 8. "This is what we need to do," Brown recalls saying as they, like thousands of others, fled a fire that would become the most destructive in California's 168-year history.

Tales of endurance and selflessness have helped salve the wounds of the Camp Fire, which took at least 85 lives and destroyed nearly 19,000 structures before officials said it was contained on Nov. 25. Among the saviors were thousands of firefighters, from California and across the U.S., and people like Brown—untrained citizens who risked their lives to save others from what residents have called "the fires from hell."

BROWN ARRIVED at the hospital that morning to find an evacuation already in progress. He jumped in, racing to get patients into ambulances. And when workers ran out of ambulances, he loaded three patients—two who had been in intensive care and one who had been in hospice, unable to walk—into his own vehicle, which was soon stuck for hours in gridlock because cars up ahead had already burst into flames. "You could hear the fire," Brown says.

At times, with smoke billowing black, Brown couldn't see 20 feet down the road. He inched the minivan away from flames on one side of the street, then the



Brown, pictured in an RV where his family stayed after the fire

other, trying to keep his charges safe as embers flicked onto the hood. "We were all trying to get out of town," he says of Paradise residents, "but we couldn't move." So instead they prayed.

Meanwhile, Brown made a call to his children to tell them he loved them in case he didn't make it. This was an especially hard call to make because his teenage daughter and son had lost their mother to cancer five months earlier. Brown told his son Jaron, a 16-year-old who had gotten his license a mere month before, to hitch up a 36-ft. trailer to the family truck and flee with his younger sister, his grandmother and their pets. "Drive the truck, Jaron," Brown told him. "Just get out of town."

After a bulldozer finally moved the cars blocking his path, Brown made it to

the parking lot of a church. "It was just a big fireball," he says of the structure. Officials then sent him toward a bigger parking lot, hoping it would be better insulated. To get there, Brown found himself facing a wall of fire. He couldn't see the other side, but the patients needed care. "What do you do? You can't turn around at this point," he says. "So I just floored my minivan and drove through the flames."

They made it through. After waiting hours longer, as officials searched for unblocked roads out of Paradise, Brown finally got the patients to a hospital in nearby Chico. The chaplain soon found out, in a desperately happy phone call, that Jaron had managed to drive the rest of the family (including their dogs) to safety too.

"I'm still realizing the full extent of what has happened, but it's slowly dawning on me," Jaron said 10 days later, sounding dazed. Asked how he kept his focus as he spent hours driving the hulking vehicle away from the flames, the young man, like his dad, said he prayed. Jaron and his grandmother also recited Bible verses to each other, including the story of three faithful men who escaped a fiery furnace. □

'What do you do? You can't turn around at this point. So I just floored my minivan and drove through the flames.'

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EVERYDAY HEROES

You don't have to brave a fire or floodwaters to change somebody's day—or life—for the better, as these three people showed. —M.C.

A MEANINGFUL RIDE

On Oct. 13, a man boarded a public bus in Milwaukee and told the driver, 34-year-old Natalie Barnes, that his house had been condemned so he'd been living on the streets. Surveillance footage shows that she provided him with shelter, letting him ride the bus for about six hours, as temperatures outside plunged to the low 30s. She bought him dinner after her shift and went on to help him find temporary housing. "At some point in our lives, everybody needs help," she says.

MATH HELP TO GO

Riding a New York City subway train in April, Corey Simmons was visibly boggled by the fractions in his 9-year-old son's math homework. In a moment captured in a viral image, a stranger named Lawrence Shoken, 59, offered to help him work through it. Simmons, 41, a single father, relayed the strategies to his son, who aced his next test. "There's good in New York," he says.

GROCERY GOODNESS

While stocking shelves at a grocery store in Baton Rouge, La., 20-year-old Jordan Taylor noticed 17-year-old Jack Ryan Edwards, who has autism, watching him with fascination. Taylor spent the next 30 minutes patiently showing Jack Ryan how to place milk cartons and juice bottles in the store's refrigerators. The gesture, captured on video by the teen's father in July, brought his family to tears. (The video has been viewed more than 1 million times.) In turn, the Edwards family helped raise more than \$100,000 for Taylor to go to college. He began attending Grambling State University in Louisiana this fall.



PENNSYLVANIA

A pilot who landed safely

WHEN AN ENGINE ON A SOUTHWEST Airlines plane exploded on April 17, the lives of everyone on Flight 1380 fell into the hands of Tammie Jo Shults. Amid the chaos in the cabin, Shults—who, before becoming a commercial pilot, had been one of the first female fighter pilots in the U.S. Navy—kept her cool as she safely returned the damaged Boeing 737 to earth, saving 143 passengers.

The Dallas-bound aircraft departed New York City at about 10:40 a.m. and was only about 20 minutes into the flight, and 32,000 ft. in the air, when it suffered the sudden engine failure. Fragments from the damaged engine struck and broke a passenger window; the death of the passenger seated next to it, Jennifer Riordan, was the only fatality involving a U.S.-registered commercial passenger air carrier since 2009. The plane shook violently as debris and cold air whipped around the rapidly depressurized cabin, according to survivors. Some prayed, while others screamed and attempted to say goodbye to their loved ones. But in the cockpit, Shults can be heard in released

audio of the incident calmly relaying the situation to dispatchers as she proceeded to make an emergency landing at Philadelphia International Airport.

Her actions earned her international acclaim and deep gratitude from those on the plane. "She changed the course of our lives forever," says Marty Martinez, who sat two rows behind the shattered window. Martinez, a 29-year-old digital marketer from Dallas, thought he was documenting his final moments when he streamed the situation on Facebook Live. Martinez adds, "I feel so eternally grateful for the courage and the nerves of steel that she had to allow us to walk away from that incident unharmed."

But Shults, 57, says the real valor was in the aisles, as passengers and crew members put themselves in danger to help others. And at the end of the ordeal, she says, one passenger even bent down to tie a stranger's shoe as they walked off the plane. "Heroism is in the small things," she says, "not just in the big ones." —MELISSA CHAN

PILOT: CALLAGHAN O'HARE FOR TIME; GASSAMA: FRANCOIS GUILLOT—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

FRANCE

The 'Spider-Man' who saved a child

AS A 4-YEAR-OLD BOY DANGLED helplessly from the balcony of an apartment building in France on May 26, passerby Mamoudou Gassama sprang into action. In less than a minute, the migrant from Mali, then 22, scaled at least four floors, unaided, using only his bare hands to pull the boy to safety.

In a video of the harrowing moment, which has been widely viewed around the world, Gassama hauls himself up from balcony railing to balcony railing while a crowd of onlookers screams below. Within seconds, he maneuvers over to the boy and appears to pull him up with one arm. Gassama said he didn't have time to be afraid until the child was safe on the other side of the railing. "When I started to climb, [the mission] gave me courage to keep climbing," said Gassama, who had immediately run across the street when he saw the child's plight, according to the Associated Press. "Thank God I saved him."

For his quick thinking and superhero-like dexterity, Gassama was immediately dubbed Spider-Man on social media. French President Emmanuel Macron also praised Gassama for his "exceptional act," calling him an "example" to the millions of people who had now witnessed his bravery.

During a meeting days after the rescue, Macron rewarded Gassama with a medal, a role in the Paris fire brigade and an expedited path to French citizenship. "You saved a child. Without you, no one knows what would have become of him," the French President told Gassama. "You need courage and the capability to do that." —M.C.

A large advertisement for Oscar Mayer bacon. The top half features a close-up of a white plate piled with cooked, golden-brown bacon strips, with a silver fork lifting one piece. A small Oscar Mayer logo is in the top left corner. The middle section has the text "COOK WITH BACONFIDENCE" in large, bold, red capital letters. Below this, a smaller line of text reads: "Oscar Mayer bacon comes through with baconsistently great flavor every time you cook it." The bottom half shows a white plate with a breakfast meal including a fried egg, a slice of tomato, a piece of bacon, and a hash brown. Next to the plate is a yellow and red package of Oscar Mayer "NATURALLY • HARDWOOD SMOKED Bacon". The bottom right corner shows a close-up of the raw bacon strips in the package.

Oscar Mayer

COOK WITH
BACONFIDENCE

Oscar Mayer bacon comes through with baconsistently great flavor every time you cook it.

Oscar Mayer
NATURALLY •
HARDWOOD SMOKED
Bacon

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2018

**PERSON OF
THE YEAR**

**THE
GUARANT**

AND THE



Reuters journalists Wa Lone, center front, and Kyaw Soe Oo, center back, after their trial began in Yangon, Myanmar, on Jan. 10. The pair had documented the regime's ethnic cleansing; their prosecution has been widely viewed as retribution. They were sentenced in September to seven years in prison

PHOTOGRAPH BY LYNN BO BO—
EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK

DIANS

WAR ON TRUTH

THE CHOICE



PHOTOGRAPHS BY
MOISES SAMAN

By Edward Felsenthal

IN THE OUTSKIRTS OF YANGON, MYANMAR'S largest city, two young reporters sit in a prison said to be "the darkest hellhole in Burma." Millennials, we would call them in America—Wa Lone is 32 years old; Kyaw Soe Oo is 28. The genesis of their arrest, one year ago on Dec. 12, is their reporting for the Reuters news service that later exposed a mass execution of 10 Rohingya Muslims, part of a violent campaign against the minority group by Myanmar's military. "I never expected he would be arrested," says Kyaw Soe Oo's wife Chit Su Win. "I was more concerned about him getting shot."

It has long been the first move in the authoritarian playbook: controlling the flow of information and debate that is freedom's lifeblood. And in 2018, the playbook worked. Today, democracy around the world faces its biggest crisis in decades, its foundations undermined by invective from on high and toxins from below, by new technologies that power ancient impulses, by a poisonous cocktail of strongmen and weakening institutions. From Russia to Riyadh to Silicon Valley, manipulation and abuse of truth is the common thread in so many of this year's major headlines, an insidious and growing threat to freedom.

As Facebook faced an overdue reckoning on how to control the driverless car of social media, hazards to traditional sources of information continued to mount. On Nov. 28, owners of more than 400 media outlets in Hungary "donated" control to a pro-government conglomerate created by allies of

MAGNUM PHOTOS

its nativist Prime Minister. This spring, two journalists in India, the world's largest democracy, were killed in separate, deliberate hit-and-run attacks in the span of 24 hours. In June, a subject of a local newspaper's coverage was accused of having marched into its Maryland newsroom and killing five staffers. This fall, CNN has twice had to evacuate its New York offices because of bomb threats.

In its highest forms, influence—the measure that has for nine decades been the focus of TIME's Person of the Year—derives from courage. Like all human gifts, courage comes to us at varying levels and at varying moments. This year we are recognizing four journalists and one news organization who have paid a terrible price to seize the challenge of this moment: Jamal Khashoggi, Maria Ressa, Wa Lone and Kyaw Soe Oo, and the Capital Gazette of Annapolis, Md.

They are representative of a broader fight by countless others around the world—as of Dec. 10, at least 52 journalists have been murdered in 2018—who risk all to tell the story of our time.

FOR ALL THE INSULTS HURLED BY THE PRESIDENT at the press, rhetoric which has been deployed by dangerous actors around the world, the U.S. remains a beacon for truth and free expression. This is a nation where, as we saw this year, a news organization can sue the White House and win, even at the hands of a judge appointed by that very White House.

One of the people who sought refuge in these freedoms was Khashoggi, the most visible representative of this harrowing year for truth. This marks the first year TIME has named someone who is no longer alive a Person of the Year. But it is also rare that a person's influence grows so immensely in death. Directed by a killer whose motive was “control of information,” as Khashoggi's fellow *Washington Post* columnist David Ignatius noted, the murder has prompted a global reassessment of

Saudi Arabia's crown prince, who a CIA assessment concluded likely ordered the killing, and the devastating war he has waged in Yemen.

Ressa is the founder and editor of a Philippine news site, Rappler, known for its fearless reporting on President Rodrigo Duterte's propaganda machine and extrajudicial killings. In return, she has faced a barrage of government lawsuits aimed at the site, and violent hate messages on social media—at one point, 90 of them an hour. “Now is certainly not the time to be afraid,” she said on Dec. 3 after turning herself in and posting bail on tax-fraud charges that would carry jail sentences of up to 10 years—charges widely viewed as an effort to stifle her work.

The repercussions aren't always from above. The gunman at the Capital Gazette allegedly was a local man aggrieved, years after the fact, that the paper's reporting had brought his harassment of a woman out of the shadows. The massacre he perpetrated made America the fourth deadliest country in the world to be a journalist this year. But while the loss was immense and intensely personal, that day the staff at one of the nation's oldest news outlets did what it has done since before the American Revolution—they put the paper out.

The press always has and always will commit errors of judgment, of omission, of accuracy. And yet what it does is fundamental. Says Andrea Chamblee, whose husband John McNamara was one of the five Capital Gazette staffers killed: “A lot of people don't understand how important what goes on in their community is to them and how it affects their quality of life until it's gone.”

For taking great risks in pursuit of greater truths, for the imperfect but essential quest for facts that are central to civil discourse, for speaking up and for speaking out, the Guardians—Jamal Khashoggi, Wa Lone and Kyaw Soe Oo, Maria Ressa and the Capital Gazette of Annapolis, Md.—are TIME's Person of the Year.

Freedom
ensures that
every other
be known
challenged and

of the press
at the abuse of
freedom can
can be
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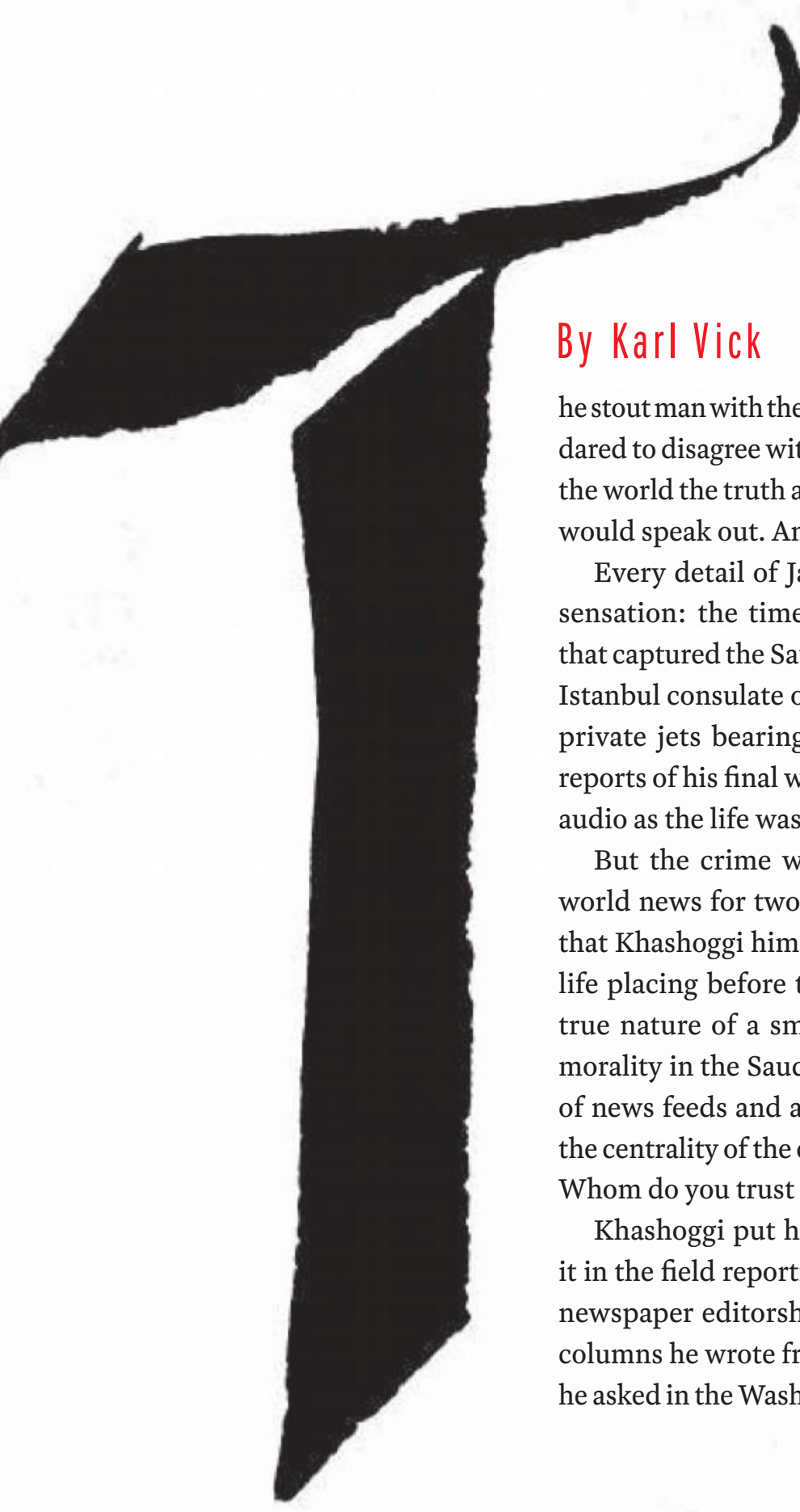
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Steady Purpose

After five of their colleagues were murdered, the staff of the Capital Gazette in Annapolis, Md., made sure its newspaper's next edition got out on time. In this image, photographed in Washington, D.C., on Dec. 9, from left: Jimmy DeButts, community news editor; E.B. "Pat" Furgurson III, reporter; Katherine Fominykh, sports reporter; Jeffrey Bill, photo editor; Joshua McKerrow, photojournalist; Anthony Messenger, former news intern; Christine H. Gorham, advertising sales consultant; Andrea Chamblee, widow of John McNamara; Rachael Pacella, reporter; Selene San Felice, reporter; Danielle Ohl, reporter; Paul Gillespie, photojournalist; Rick Hutzell, editor; Erin Hardy, copy editor/page designer; Janel Cooley, advertising sales consultant.



By Karl Vick

he stout man with the gray goatee and the gentle demeanor dared to disagree with his country's government. He told the world the truth about its brutality toward those who would speak out. And he was murdered for it.

Every detail of Jamal Khashoggi's killing made it a sensation: the time stamp on the surveillance video that captured the Saudi journalist entering his country's Istanbul consulate on Oct. 2; the taxiway images of the private jets bearing his assassins; the bone saw; the reports of his final words, "I can't breathe," recorded on audio as the life was choked from him.

But the crime would not have remained atop the world news for two months if not for the epic themes that Khashoggi himself was ever alert to, and spent his life placing before the public. His death laid bare the true nature of a smiling prince, the utter absence of morality in the Saudi-U.S. alliance and—in the cascade of news feeds and alerts, posts and shares and links—the centrality of the question Khashoggi was killed over: Whom do you trust to tell the story?

Khashoggi put his faith in bearing witness. He put it in the field reporting he had done since youth, in the newspaper editorship he was forced out of and in the columns he wrote from lonely exile. "Must we choose," he asked in the *Washington Post* in May, "between movie



Jamal Khashoggi was a leading journalist in Saudi Arabia for decades before fleeing to the U.S. in 2017. In columns for the *Washington Post*, he criticized Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman's quest for total power and suppression of free speech. On Oct. 2, Khashoggi was murdered by agents of the kingdom inside its Istanbul consulate, while his fiancée waited for him outside.



I've been a war-zone correspondent,' says Ressa. 'That is easy compared to what we're dealing with now.'

theaters and our rights as citizens to speak out, whether in support of or critical of our government's actions?" Khashoggi had fled his homeland last year even though he actually supported much of Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman's agenda in Saudi Arabia. What irked the kingdom and marked the journalist for death was Khashoggi's insistence on coming to that conclusion on his own, tempering it with troubling facts and trusting the public to think for itself.

Such independence is no small thing. It marks the distinction between tyranny and democracy. And in a world where budding authoritarians have advanced by blurring the difference, there was a clarity in the spectacle of a tyrant's fury visited upon a man armed only with a pen. Because the strongmen of the world only look strong. All despots live in fear of their people. To see genuine strength, look to the spaces where individuals dare to describe what's going on in front of them.

In the Philippines, a 55-year-old woman named Maria Ressa steers Rappler, an online news site she helped found, through a superstorm of the two most formidable forces in the information universe: social media and a populist President with authoritarian inclinations. Rappler has chronicled the violent drug war and extrajudicial killings of President Rodrigo Duterte that have left some 12,000 people dead, according to a January estimate from Human Rights Watch. The Duterte government refuses to accredit a Rappler journalist to cover it, and in November charged the site with tax fraud, allegations that could send Ressa to prison for up to 10 years.

In Annapolis, Md., staff of the *Capital*, a newspaper that is part of Capital Gazette Communications, which traces its history of telling readers about the

events in Maryland to before the American Revolution, press on without the five colleagues gunned down in their newsroom on June 28. Still intact, indeed strengthened after the mass shooting, are the bonds of trust and community that for national news outlets have been eroded on strikingly partisan lines, never more than this year.

And in prison in Myanmar, two young Reuters reporters remain separated from their wives and children, serving a sentence for defying the ethnic divisions that rend that country. For documenting the deaths of 10 minority Rohingya Muslims, Kyaw Soe Oo and Wa Lone got seven years. The killers they exposed were sentenced to 10.

This year brought no shortage of other examples. Bangladeshi photographer Shahidul Alam was jailed for more than 100 days for making "false" and "provocative" statements after criticizing Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina in an interview about mass protests in Dhaka. In Sudan, freelance journalist Amal Habani was arrested while covering economic protests, detained for 34 days and beaten with electric rods. In Brazil, reporter Patricia Campos Mello was targeted with threats after reporting that supporters of President-elect Jair Bolsonaro had funded a campaign to spread false news stories on WhatsApp. And Victor Mallet, Asia news editor for the *Financial Times*, was forced out of Hong Kong after inviting an activist to speak at a press club event against the wishes of the Chinese government. Worldwide, a record number of journalists—262 in total—were imprisoned in 2017, according to the Committee to Protect Journalists, which expects the total to be high again this year.

This ought to be a time when democracy leaps forward, an informed citizenry being essential to self-government. Instead, it's in retreat. Three decades after the Cold War defeat of a blunt and crude autocracy, a more clever brand takes nourishment from the murk that surrounds us. The old-school despot embraced censorship. The modern despot, finding that more difficult, foments mistrust of credible fact, thrives on the confusion loosed by social media and fashions the illusion of legitimacy from supplicants.

Modern misinformation, says David Patrikarakos, author of the book *War in 140 Characters*, titled after the original maximum length of a Twitter post, "does not function like traditional propaganda.

Maria Ressa co-founded the news site Rappler. It has relentlessly covered the brutal drug war of Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte, including extrajudicial killings that have alarmed human-rights advocates. Duterte has called Rappler "fake news" and banned its reporters from presidential events. The government recently charged Ressa with tax fraud—a move widely viewed as an attempted crackdown on Rappler's reporting. She faces a possible 10-year sentence.

Crime Scene

Photojournalists are held back as they work to record the arrival of investigators at the Saudi consulate in Istanbul on Oct. 15. Jamal Khashoggi died there on Oct. 2.

PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRIS MCGRATH—GETTY IMAGES







‘Some of my Facebook friends attacked me and would ask, “Why can’t you control your husband?” They called him and Kyaw Soe Oo traitors,’ Pan Ei Mon says. ‘I have just become numb to it.’

It tries to muddy the waters. It tries to sow as much confusion and as much misinformation as possible, so that when people see the truth, they find it harder to recognize.”

The story of this assault on truth is, somewhat paradoxically, one of the hardest to tell. “We all learned in our schools that journalists shouldn’t be the story ourselves, but this is, again, not our choice,” says Can Dündar, who, after being charged with revealing state secrets and nearly assassinated as a newspaper editor in Turkey, fled to Germany, where he set up a news site. “This is the world of the strong leaders who hate the free press and truth.”

That world is led, in some ways, by a U.S. President whose embrace of despots and attacks on the press has set a troubling tone. “I think the biggest problem that we face right now is that the beacon of democracy, the one that stood up for both human rights and press freedom—the United States—now is very confused,” says Ressa, the Rappler editor. “What are the values of the United States?”

The question no longer seems strange, for the same reason a close look at where we get our news no longer sounds like civics-class homework. In normal times, the U.S. news media is so much a part of public life that, like air, it’s almost impossible to make it out. But it has been made conspicuous—by the attacks and routine falsehoods of the President, by social-media behemoths that distribute news but do not produce it and by the emerging reality

of what’s at stake.

Efforts to undermine factual truth, and those who honestly seek it out, call into doubt the functioning of democracy. Freedom of speech, after all, was purposefully placed first in the Bill of Rights.

In 2018, journalists took note of what people said, and of what people did. When those two things differed, they took note of that too. The year brought no great change in what they do or how they do it. What changed was how much it matters.

“**I CAN TELL YOU THIS,**” declared Chase Cook, a reporter for the Capital Gazette. “We are putting out a damn paper tomorrow.”

Cook’s promise, shared with the world on Twitter, came just a few hours after five of his colleagues were killed. The man charged with their murders had been obsessed with the paper since it wrote about his harassment of a high school classmate—part of its routine coverage of local legal proceedings. He made the office a crime scene. To put the damn paper out, staffers set up laptops in the bed of a pickup in a parking garage across the street.

When the next edition arrived—on schedule—the opinion page was blank but for the names of the dead. Gerald Fischman. Rob Hiaasen. John McNamara. Rebecca Smith. Wendi Winters. Beneath their names was a coda that might have been written with a goose quill: “Tomorrow this page will return to its steady purpose of offering our readers informed opinion about the world around them, that they might be better citizens.”

That’s the workaday business of local news. “Community journalists are the only ones who are going to go to your kid’s basketball game,” says Selene San Felice, a Capital Gazette features reporter. “They’re the only ones who are going to cover lifeguard training ... They’re the only ones who are going to cover your local elections and tell you exactly what’s going on.”

This passing of valued information is a wholesome essential of self-government. We can’t reason together if we don’t know what we’re talking about. But the information has to be trusted.

It mostly still is, in places like Annapolis, where the Capital Gazette operates. A poll released in August by the Poynter Institute, a nonprofit devoted to improving journalism, found that more than 70% of Americans express either “a fair amount” or “a great

Chit Su Win and **Pan Ei Mon**, photographed here with their children, are the wives of two Reuters journalists who have been jailed in Myanmar since December 2017. The arrest of the two men, Kyaw Soe Oo and Wa Lone, was widely viewed as retribution for their work exposing the regime’s atrocities against the Rohingya minority. Says Chit Su Win, Kyaw Soe Oo’s wife, “He was so passionate about his work that I could not ask him to stop.”

KILLED IN THE LINE OF DUTY

Some died covering wars. Others were murdered over their work. As of Dec. 10, 52 journalists around the world lost their lives this year.

JANUARY

1. Carlos Domínguez Rodríguez

FREELANCE COLUMNIST



Stabbed while stopped at a traffic light after reporting on local corruption.

2. Jefferson Pureza Lopes

BROADCAST REPORTER, BEIRA RIO FM



Shot after criticizing local politicians.

3. Mohammad al-Qadasi

PHOTOGRAPHER, BELQEES TV



Hit by shrapnel while traveling to report on a missile strike.

4. Leslie Ann Pamela Montenegro del Real

INTERNET REPORTER AND COMMENTATOR, EL SILLÓN



Shot after mocking local politicians in satirical YouTube videos.

5. Abdul Rahman Ismael Yassin

PHOTOGRAPHER AND REPORTER, HAMMOURIYEH MEDIA OFFICE



Hit by barrel-bomb shrapnel while traveling to report on airstrikes.

MARCH

6. Ján Kuciak

INTERNET REPORTER, AKTUALITY



Shot at home after investigating the mafia. Had also covered tax fraud.

7. Bashar al-Attar

PHOTOGRAPHER, ARBIN UNIFIED MEDIA OFFICE



Hit by shrapnel from an airstrike while reporting on an earlier airstrike.

8. Kamel abu al-Walid

PHOTOGRAPHER, JARABULUS MEDIA OFFICE



Killed by a land mine while photographing the effects of war.

9. Leobardo Vázquez Atzin

INTERNET REPORTER, ENLACE INFORMATIVO REGIONAL



Assassinated after writing about local crime and corruption on Facebook.

10. Obeida abu Omar

INTERNET REPORTER, DAMASKI MEDIA AGENCY



Killed at home in a missile strike while reporting on Russian airstrikes.

11. Navin Nischal

PRINT REPORTER, DAINIK BHASKAR



Hit by an SUV. A local leader, whom he had critiqued, was driving.

12. Sandeep Sharma

BROADCAST REPORTER, NEWS WORLD

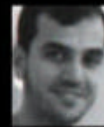


Hit by a truck after covering corruption.

APRIL

13. Yaser Murtaja

CAMERAMAN, PHOTOGRAPHER AND PRODUCER, AIN MEDIA



Shot while covering a protest despite wearing a bulletproof vest labeled "Press."

14.-15. Abducted while on assignment documenting drug-related violence and shot about two weeks later.



Paúl Rivas Bravo
PHOTOGRAPHER, EL COMERCIO



Juan Javier Ortega Reyes
PRINT REPORTER, EL COMERCIO

16. Abdullah al-Qadry

CAMERAMAN AND PHOTOGRAPHER, BELQEES TV



Hit in a missile attack while driving to interview army personnel.

17. Ángel Eduardo Gahona

BROADCAST/INTERNET REPORTER AND PRODUCER, EL MERIDIANO



Shot while covering protests via Facebook Live.

18. Abdul Manan Arghand

BROADCAST REPORTER, KABUL NEWS



Shot while driving after being marked by the Taliban as a target for assassination.

19. Ahmed Abu Hussein

PHOTOGRAPHER, VOICE OF THE PEOPLE RADIO, BISAN NEWS AGENCY



Shot while covering protests.

20.-28. Killed when a suicide bomber, disguised as a media worker, detonated a bomb at the scene of a prior suicide bombing they had gathered to cover. ISIS claimed responsibility.



Maharram Durrani

INTERNET REPORTER AND PRODUCER, RADIO AZADI, RADIO FREE EUROPE/RADIO LIBERTY



Abadullah Hananzai

PRODUCER, RADIO AZADI, RADIO FREE EUROPE/RADIO LIBERTY



Sabawoon Kakar

PRODUCER, RADIO AZADI, RADIO FREE EUROPE/RADIO LIBERTY



Shah Marai

PHOTOGRAPHER, AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE



Nowroz Ali Rajabi

CAMERAMAN, 1TV



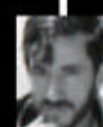
Ghazi Rasooli

BROADCAST REPORTER, 1TV



Ali Saleemi

BROADCAST REPORTER, CAMERAMAN, MASHAL TV



Saleem Talash

BROADCAST REPORTER, MASHAL TV



Yar Mohammad Tokhi

CAMERAMAN, TOLO NEWS

FACEBOOK (11), DOHA CENTRE FOR MEDIA FREEDOM (2), YOUTUBE (2), AP (7), TWITTER (14), REUTERS, SHUTTERSTOCK (2), GETTY IMAGES (3), RFE/RL (3), 1TV NEWS (2), TOLO NEWS (3), SY24, FRIENDS OF OMAR EZZI MOHAMMAD



MAY
JUNE**29. Ibrahim al-Munjar**

INTERNET REPORTER, SY24



Shot after covering clashes between the Syrian army and ISIS.

30. Shujaat Bukhari

EDITOR AND PRINT REPORTER, RISING KASHMIR



Shot outside a media building after covering human rights and politics.

31. Jairo Sousa

BROADCAST REPORTER, RÁDIO PÉROLA



Shot after covering corruption, homicide and drug trafficking.

32.-35. Killed, allegedly by a lone gunman who had a grudge against the newspaper for covering a criminal harassment case against him.**Gerald Fischman**

EDITORIAL PAGE EDITOR, CAPITAL GAZETTE

**Rob Hiaasen**

COLUMNIST AND EDITOR, CAPITAL GAZETTE

**John McNamara**

EDITOR AND INTERNET/PRINT REPORTER, CAPITAL GAZETTE

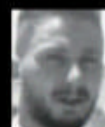
**Wendi Winters**

INTERNET/PRINT REPORTER, CAPITAL GAZETTE

JULY

36. Mustafa Salamah

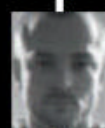
BROADCAST REPORTER, SAMA TV



Killed by a stray shell while reporting on the Syrian war.

37.-39. Shot while investigating a Russian mercenary group in the Central African Republic. Independent inquiries suggest the murders were preplanned.**Orkhan Dzhemal**

BROADCAST REPORTER, THE INVESTIGATIONS MANAGEMENT CENTRE

**Kirill Radchenko**

CAMERAMAN, THE INVESTIGATIONS MANAGEMENT CENTRE

**Aleksandr Rastorguyev**

BROADCAST REPORTER AND PRODUCER, THE INVESTIGATIONS MANAGEMENT CENTRE

40. Musa Abdul Kareem

PHOTOGRAPHER AND EDITOR, FASANEAA



Abducted, tortured and shot while reporting on life in a conflict zone.

AUGUST

41. Ahmed Azize

PHOTOGRAPHER AND CAMERAMAN, ALEPPO NEWS NETWORK



Killed in an airstrike while covering the aftermath of a previous airstrike.

SEPTEMBER

42.-43. Killed mid-broadcast, at the scene of a suicide bombing, after a car bomb exploded. ISIS claimed responsibility.**Samim Faramarz**

BROADCAST REPORTER, TOLO NEWS

**Ramiz Ahmadi**

CAMERAMAN, TOLO NEWS

44. Omar Ezzi Mohammad

TECHNICIAN, AL-MARAWEAH RADIO



Killed when an airstrike targeting media outlets hit his broadcasting center.

45. Mario Leonel Gómez Sánchez

PRINT/INTERNET REPORTER, EL HERALDO DE CHIAPAS



Shot at home after covering local crime and corruption.

OCTOBER

46. Jamal Khashoggi

COLUMNIST, THE WASHINGTON POST



Killed in a Saudi Arabian consulate after criticizing the Saudi state.

NOVEMBER

47. Mohammad Salim Angaar

CAMERAMAN, RADIO TELEVISION AFGHANISTAN



Hit in a Taliban-organized shooting while covering a government meeting.

48. Abdullah Mire Hashi

PRODUCER AND COLUMNIST, DARUL SUNNAH



Shot outside a mosque after receiving calls from a militant group.

49. Achyutananda Sahu

CAMERAMAN, DOORDARSHAN



Caught in police-militant crossfire while reporting on an upcoming election.

50. Chandan Tiwari

PRINT REPORTER, AJ NEWSPAPER



Abducted and beaten to death after reporting on corruption.

51.-52. Shot while driving to report on a protest. Their radio station had received threats in the months prior.**Raed Fares**

BROADCAST REPORTER AND EDITOR, RADIO FRESH

**Hamoud al-Jnaid**

BROADCAST REPORTER AND PHOTOGRAPHER, RADIO FRESH

SOURCE: COMMITTEE TO PROTECT JOURNALISTS (CPJ), DATA AS OF DEC. 10.

NOTE: NAMES, TITLES AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF DEATH ARE FROM CPJ'S DATABASE OF JOURNALISTS WHO WERE KILLED ON A DANGEROUS ASSIGNMENT, CAUGHT IN CROSS FIRE OR MURDERED BECAUSE OF THEIR WORK. INCLUDES ONLY MURDERS WITH A CLEAR MOTIVE, AS DETERMINED BY CPJ. DOES NOT INCLUDE DRIVERS, TRANSLATORS AND OTHER MEDIA WORKERS.



deal” of trust in both their local papers and local TV news, even as resources for both continue to shrink. It’s what you might expect of neighbors. At the local level, journalists and community remain mutually reinforcing.

The national media enjoyed the same kind of connection not so long ago. In 1976, 72% of Americans voiced trust in all news outlets (before 1972, whether Americans trusted the news media was not a question Gallup bothered to ask). But while most institutions rode a steady downslope in public confidence in the jaundiced aftermath of Vietnam and Watergate, the national media traveled its own path. There was a split—by party.

“We have an era from the ’70s until about 2000, when both Democrats and Republicans were becoming more skeptical of the press,” says Jonathan Ladd, director of the American Institutional Confidence Poll at Georgetown University. “Then in the past 18 to 20 years, the partisan divide is growing, where most of the continuing decline is on the Republican side.”

The division coincides with the growth of partisan cable news networks. In 1996, Fox News Channel was founded on the assumption that the national media reflected the liberal inclinations of journalists working for it. And surveys did show a lean to the left in their personal politics. Fox was not the first news outlet to thrive by offering news viewers the satisfaction of a shared view of the world—MSNBC, its liberal counterpart, premiered four months earlier—but it was the most strikingly partisan in a television landscape that historically tried not to be.

When TV arrived in homes via physically scarce airwaves, a license to broadcast was deemed a public trust, and the Federal Communications Commission enforced the Fairness Doctrine, which required stations to cover public controversies, and to include more than one side. The hundreds of channels brought by cable rendered the scarcity premise obsolete as justification for regulation (the Fairness Doctrine was repealed in 1987), and the fire hose that is the Internet has washed away the last traces. So it was that TV news went from being a blandly unifying force, confined largely to half-hour nightly newscasts, to a constant companion nudging the country into partisan camps.

Especially around presidential elections. On a fever chart of media trust, the downward slope makes sharp dips every four years, followed by upswings after the President is chosen. But the recovery after 2016 was partial. Republicans remain deeply distrustful of most news outlets. “Even things that are demonstrably true, people are skeptical about, and that’s a pretty dangerous slope to be on,” says Marc Hetherington, a political-science professor at the University of

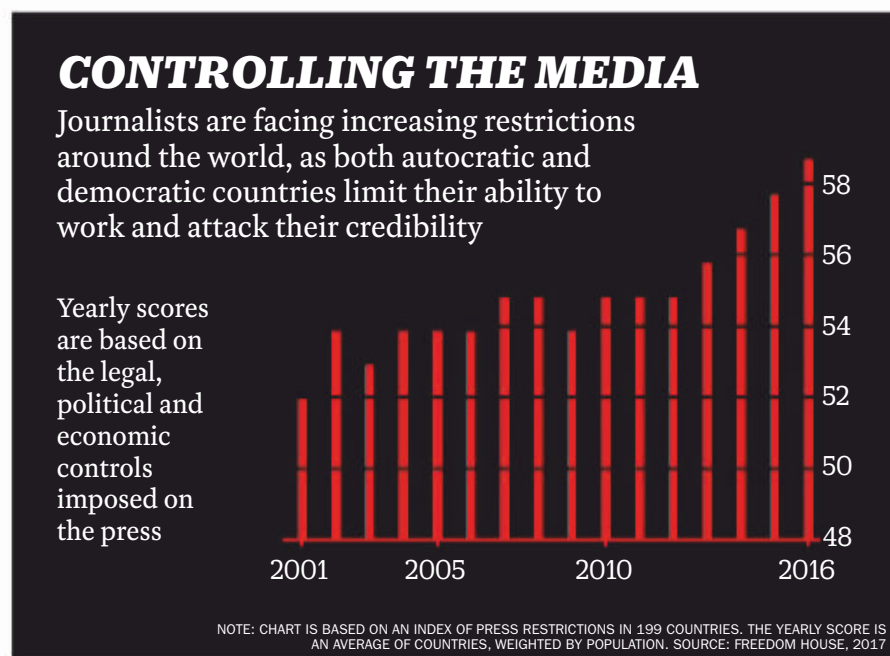
North Carolina and author of *Why Trust Matters*.

Most journalists are under no illusions about their infallibility. They make mistakes, every day. The framing of “fake news” posits that any errors are intentional, a coordinated campaign to deceive. Less discussed—and contrasting sharply with the lies of autocrats—is the speed with which any good news organization moves to publicly correct and acknowledge its mistakes.

“People assume the worst about journalism,” says Joy Mayer, director of the Trusting News Project, which works with community news organizations. “They have all these assumptions that we pay our sources, that when we talk about anonymous sources, we don’t even know who those sources are. They’re surprised that we have ethics policies and that we have long discussions about which word to use or which photo to use.”

News organizations bear some responsibility for this.

The ethos of remaining separate from the story has hindered journalists from explaining how they do their work, warts and all. But some are finding these days that just communicating basic and obvious facts can be a struggle. That’s even harder from a distance. “Freedom of the press starts at the local level,” says *Capital* editor Rick Hutzell. “At the national level nobody’s listening—they’re all shouting too much.”



THE MORNING AFTER dissident politician Boris Nemtsov was murdered on a Moscow bridge in 2015, employees at a troll farm called the Internet Research Agency opened their work orders: “Create the opinion that Ukrainians could have been mixed up in the death of the Russian opposition figure.” We know about the instruction because some of the few media outlets free of Vladimir Putin’s control—including a news outlet called MR7.ru—got a copy, and posted it online. Otherwise, Nemtsov’s death might have been obscured entirely by the haze of charge, countercharge, links and conspiracy theory that autocrats encourage, because they obscure testable reality and the activism it might inspire.

In the U.S., hyperconnectivity means the country can be targeted by misinformation from anywhere. The same Internet Research Agency was named in the federal indictment handed up to a U.S. District Court in February, charging Putin’s allies with mass-producing posts that aimed to affect the 2016 presidential election.

By then, the U.S. intelligence agencies and Justice Department had concluded that Russian operatives seeded Facebook with uncounted posts intended to help the Trump campaign and sow dissent among supporters of



Department of Industrial Policy and Promotion
Ministry of Commerce and Industry
Government of India

INDIA MEANS BUSINESS

India
jumps
53
ranks

in World Bank's
Doing Business
Report in the last
2 years

India jumps

23

ranks in World Bank's
Doing Business Report 2019

1st

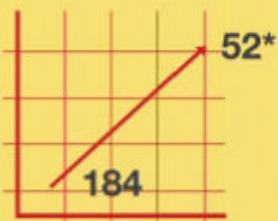
amongst South-Asian
countries this year

65

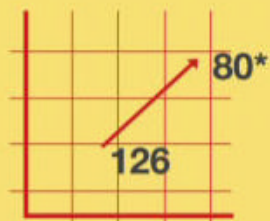
rank jump in
the last 4 years

66

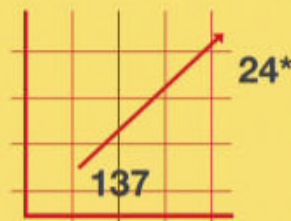
rank jump in Trading
Across Border
Indicator this year



Construction Permits
Indicator



Trading Across
Borders Indicator



Getting Electricity
Indicator

*Data from 2014-2018.

“

India's unwavering commitment towards
economic reforms has created an environment
that fosters industry, investment and opportunities

”



IT IS NOW MUCH EASIER TO DO BUSINESS IN INDIA

Hillary Clinton. Bloomberg News revealed that, with the help of Facebook employees, the Trump campaign used nonpublic “dark” posts to discourage some African Americans from voting.

In March, the *New York Times* and Britain’s *Observer* reported that Facebook had allowed private data from up to 87 million users to reach Cambridge Analytica, a political consultancy founded by a billionaire backer of Trump. The data was used to promote his candidacy without users knowing the source.

“I had the immediate association with the brainwashing of the communist regime,” says Vera Jourova, the European Union Commissioner for Justice, who grew up in communist Czechoslovakia. “When you are targeted with this misinformation through your mailbox or Facebook account, without having a clue that someone is trying to influence you, the result is the same. So that was my first instinct: My God, we have to stop this. This is turning into a totalitarian arrangement.”

Information on social media turns out to be hugely problematic. Facebook, like other social media, makes money by keeping people on the platform. To do so, its software—the algorithms that determine what shows up on your screen—frequently delivers content in a way that promotes political polarization. Some of the problem is mixing civics with kid pictures, “social” and society. For the same reason that people avoid political discussion at Thanksgiving, Facebook users may tend not to “friend” people with opposing views. But even if they do, Facebook will suppress their views in your news feed—by 5% among conservatives, and 8% for liberals, according to University of North Carolina information sciences professor Zeynep Tufekci’s analysis of a study by Facebook data scientists. That unseen suppression occurs on top of people’s conscious decisions not to click on things they disagree with. In the same study, those decisions limited exposure to diverse opinions by 6% for liberals and by 17% for conservatives.

Facebook has said it is changing its algorithms to promote “meaningful” social interactions and working to limit fake news on the platform.

Two-thirds of American adults say they get news from social media. In a 2018 survey by Gallup and the Knight Foundation, Americans said they regard 65% of information on social media as “misinformation.”

Machines are not friends of civic engagement. Within the bubbles they help us build, the algorithms tend to promote negative messages. “Fear and anger produce a lot more engagement and sharing than joy,” early Facebook

investor turned critic Roger McNamee wrote in the *Washington Monthly*. BuzzFeed reported shortly after Trump’s election that “top fake election news stories generated more total engagement on Facebook than top election stories from 19 major news outlets combined.”

In real life, *engagement* can mean listening, exchanging opinions, reading faces. In tech, *engagement* means any activity on the platform, which maximizes profits for companies that sell your attention to advertisers. Print media and TV sell ads too, but their primary product was credibility. As established media companies struggled to adapt their business models to digital, they often lined up to partner with the social-media companies that now controlled the audience.

In some countries, social media essentially is the Internet. A Facebook-funded program makes the social-media site free in the Philippines, which means most people

are unable to access anything beyond it, as other websites—including news sites—require more expensive data use. “If your mass base gets Facebook for free and thinks it’s the Internet, they don’t realize A) it’s filtered and B) You can’t search,” says Ressa, the Rappler editor. Without search, there’s no way to check information.

When the Internet started, the goal was empowerment through connection. Now, when Jourova sees senior executives from Google and Facebook, she says her first question is: “‘How will you

improve the world which you have spoiled?’ At first they laugh, and then they see that I mean it seriously.

“It’s been a painful period for them,” Jourova says of the Silicon Valley giants. “They underestimated the natural movement and behavior of bad forces.” The other factor is financial, she says. “When you make big money, you can become blind to the moral aspect of what you’re doing.” The E.U. is pushing regulations that would require platforms to remove hate speech and propaganda. *Computational propaganda* was the term Ressa picked up at a conference: “It is meant to mislead and deceive to create artificial consensus, to manufacture reality.”

Google took the motto “Don’t be evil,” but, like Facebook, makes money by selling our attention. Twenty-one percent of American adults get some of their news from YouTube, a Google company. Its algorithm produces engagement by suggesting (and often auto-playing) videos endlessly, but not randomly. Nor does the site exhibit much evidence of journalistic rigor. On Nov. 27 at 11 a.m., two of the five stories displayed on YouTube’s World News home page were from RT, formerly known as Russia Today, the Kremlin-backed 24-hour news channel, notorious for



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‘They told me that my life had practically run out,’ Parra says, recalling her 2009 kidnapping. ‘They told me that this was the end for me.’

its sly disinformation.

In a statement, a spokesperson for YouTube said it has worked to change its algorithms over the last year to promote credible news sources and provide more fact-checking resources.

Small wonder that the heaviest users of social media—young people—are the most skeptical of what’s presented to them as news. In groups convened by the Knight Foundation to talk about news and smartphones, teens and college-age Americans said they consider every source biased, except perhaps raw video from cell phones or surveillance cameras. But their appetite for authentic information remains acute. And as they shift from one platform to another, comparing sources and sifting facts, they are basically acting as journalists.

Which says something about the state of the news business in 2018. The Internet was supposed to make reporting more transparent. In a world where readers and viewers can get online and check everything, you’d better show your work. But it wasn’t that simple. The Internet also siphoned away ad revenue—roughly 60% of every digital advertising dollar in the U.S. now goes to Google or Facebook. In recent years, news outlets relied heavily on the platforms to steer audience their way, and in order to find favor on Facebook’s algorithms or a Google search, stories were tweaked for grabby headlines or to elevate the emotional angle. The net effect: fewer and fewer people are actually out reporting—the number of journalists has dropped from 114,000 to 88,000 from 2009 to 2017—while more and more stories recast the same facts in a slightly different way, to provoke reposting on social media.

In the U.S., local newsrooms are disappearing

fastest. Since 2004, the U.S. lost nearly 1,800 newspapers, the UNC Center for Innovation and Sustainability in Local Media found in an October report. Half of the 3,143 counties in the U.S. now have just one newspaper, usually a small weekly. Nearly 200 counties have no newspaper. And “between 1,300 and 1,400 communities that had newspapers of their own in 2004 now have no local news coverage at all.”

FOR A CERTAIN KIND of politician, there is an almost liberating genius to framing independent journalists as the enemy. Stray from the truth, and whoever corrects you can be dismissed as “the other side.” The strategy runs on a dangerous assumption—that we’re not all in this together.

A month after taking office, President Trump sat for an interview with Breitbart, the right-wing online news site that had been run by his then chief strategist, Steve Bannon. “The fake media is the opposition party,” the President declared. “The fake media is the enemy of the American people.”

The “enemy” line had been floated 10 days earlier, in a tweet that named the offending news organizations: “The FAKE NEWS media (failing @nytimes, @NBCNews @ABC, @CBS, @CNN) is not my enemy, it is the enemy of the American People!”

The President may not have known the history of the phrase. It was used in the Soviet Union, to condemn subordinates at the 1930s show trials Joseph Stalin ordered before executing those who had fallen out of favor. “The people” were peasants who had starved after Stalin confiscated grain harvests. The officials were the dictator’s scapegoats.

The Breitbart reporter was interested in defining fake news. He asked: “Can you kind of more clearly define what standards and quality we should expect from those who are doing reporting?”

“It’s intent,” Trump replied.

Intent is difficult to assess from outside, but in writing the Constitution a President swears an oath to defend, the Founders made their intentions clear enough: the press is intended to serve the public, and thus serve as a check on government. “The only security of all is in a free press,” wrote Thomas Jefferson, who famously said that given the choice between government and newspapers, he would make do without government (not that he didn’t have his share of criticism for the ways those papers covered him).

Dulcinea Parra covers crime as a radio reporter in Los Mochis, a city in Mexico’s Sinaloa state that has been ravaged by drug violence. This year she worked to publicize the efforts of Las Rastreadoras de El Fuerte, a group of mothers devoted to searching for those believed to have been abducted or killed by cartels—a number estimated at more than 37,000. In 2009, she herself was kidnapped after investigating threats to doctors at a local hospital amid gang clashes.

Trump's rhetoric has been embraced by leaders less restrained in their ability to tamp down on reporters. In Hungary, ahead of elections in April, investigative reporter Andras Dezso embarrassed the government of Prime Minister Viktor Orban, a democratically elected ultranationalist who had solidified power by vilifying immigrants. After state television carried a sensational interview with a woman who told frightening stories of Muslim immigrants, Dezso exposed deep flaws in her account, reporting her ties to Orban's allies and her record of legal troubles for Index.hu, one of the shrinking number of outlets not controlled by government loyalists. Police called the reporter in for questioning, taking his fingerprints and mug shot. A court then issued a formal reprimand against him for "misusing" information he had found in public databases.

"The post-truth wave started in Hungary two years before Trump," says Dezso, who draws a line from the U.S. President's attacks on the media to the plight of journalists in countries where the U.S. formerly encouraged democracy. "It was very useful for Orban that Trump took up his line against the media. It showed the government here that they can become more aggressive, more bold in their own attacks against us."

The attacks against the press feed into populism's dark side. "What Orban did first was cast journalists as his political opponents," says Dezso. "Not merely chroniclers of the political scene but actors within it. The people then saw us as a pillar of power, and there is a primal pleasure in watching such pillars burned."

At least for some. "With polarization, the belief in your own truth has become stronger, and it doesn't matter if others say it's a lie," says Cristina Zahar, executive secretary of the Brazilian Association of Investigative Journalism. Brazilians in October elected Bolsonaro, a populist reactionary who lambasts major media outlets. "These are new times, really new times," she says. "And journalists need to find ways to deal with this."

For now, the most prominent U.S. newspapers resist a combat role. "We're not at war with the Administration. We're at work," Washington Post editor Martin Baron has said. And there's been a lot of work to do. In the first year of the Trump presidency, 25 top Administration officials and Cabinet members have resigned or been fired—more

'This is the world of the strong leaders who hate the free press and truth,' Dündar says. 'When you start defending the truth, you become the story itself.'

than triple the percentage of Obama, Clinton and both Bushes, and double that of Reagan—following revelations of conflicts of interest, corruption or other impropriety, many uncovered by reporters. The *New York Times* dug through 100,000 pages of documents to determine that Trump had received at least \$413 million from his father, and participated in "dubious tax schemes during the 1990s, including instances of outright fraud." The *Wall Street Journal* revealed candidate Trump had paid \$130,000 to porn star Stormy Daniels, an apparent campaign-finance felony. ProPublica's release of a recording of children crying in a detention center galvanized public attention on the Administration's "zero tolerance" policy of separating children from their parents at the border with Mexico.

It's accountability reporting of the first order, backed by long tradition and legal protections. But those protections have started to crack even in the places where they used to be strongest. Four reporters have been murdered in the European Union since the start of last year. In February, police found the body of Ján Kuciak, a methodical chronicler of corruption in Slovakia, alongside that of his fiancée. The couple, both 27 years old, had been shot at point-blank range inside the modest house they planned to make their family home.

The attack on the Capital Gazette newsroom made the U.S. the fourth-deadliest country for journalists this year, tied with Mexico, notorious for the dangers its journalists face. "You never know when or where you can get smacked," says Ismael Bojórquez, whose colleague Javier Valdez at the

Can Dündar, former editor-in-chief of the Turkish opposition newspaper *Cumhuriyet*, lives in exile in Berlin. He fled Turkey in 2016 after he was detained for months and convicted of revealing state secrets over a story he published alleging that Turkey delivered weapons to Islamist militants in Syria. He survived an assassination attempt during the trial and managed to leave the country while appealing the case. He now runs a site called Özgürüz to cover topics censored in Turkey. The site's name translates to "we are free."







Silencing Critics

A Bangladeshi police officer grabs the mouth of photographer Shahidul Alam, preventing him from speaking to the press during a court appearance in Dhaka, Bangladesh, on Aug. 6. Alam was arrested after criticizing the government in an interview.

PHOTOGRAPH BY SUVRA KANTI DAS

‘Free speech is very much under pressure,’ says Alam. ‘I am not aware of a government that does not promote freedom in its rhetoric and actively oppose it in its practice.’

RioDoce, an independent paper in Sinaloa state, notorious as the cradle of narco-trafficking, was killed outside the newspaper’s front door last year. Dulcina Parra, a Sinaloa reporter who emerged alive from a 2009 kidnapping, still goes to work. “I feel it’s part of what I owe society,” she says.

It’s when attacks are both political and personal that neutral ground shrinks, and professional truth seekers feel extraordinary pressure to choose a side. Khashoggi rejected the label “dissident,” insisting, “‘I am an independent journalist using his pen for the good of his country,’” his fiancée Hatice Cengiz wrote in the *New York Times*. In exile, the Turkish journalist Dündar regrets being forced to act as a dissident in the pursuit of truth. In Kiev, Arkady Babchenko decided it was the only choice.

At his old Moscow newspaper, *Novaya Gazeta*, at least five journalists have been killed since 2000. Babchenko says he knew most of them personally. So when security officers in Ukraine warned him that he was targeted for assassination, he took the threat seriously. Then he says they told him the only way to expose the plot—and remove the threat to others on the hit list—was to fake his own death. Babchenko went along: he was photographed in a pool of pig’s blood, then revealed his living self at a news conference the next day. Suspects were arrested, but the charade left the reporter a pariah to some colleagues, and Babchenko in a new place. Once a week, bodyguards follow him to his talk show, where he discusses Russian affairs before a backdrop of the Kremlin in flames.

Accuracy, fairness, professionalism—the pillars of journalism took root in the U.S. and Britain, spread around the world, and remain the standard. In the U.S., the press retains qualities of a citadel, protected





Shahidul Alam, a photographer and activist who has documented human-rights abuses and political upheaval in Bangladesh for over 30 years, was arrested in August for making “false” and “provocative” statements after criticizing Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina in an interview. He could still face up to 14 years in prison if convicted, but he plans to cover the country’s election on Dec. 30 amid concerns of election rigging. “Sadly, my lawyers have advised against it. My security experts have completely said no,” he says. “But I’m a journalist. You do what you do.”



Amal Habani covers government corruption, police abuses and human-rights violations as a freelance journalist in Sudan.

Authorities there have detained her 15 times and banned her writing from a major newspaper. In January, she was held for 34 days and assaulted with electric rods for reporting on economic protests.

“Freedom of expression is like a jungle now. We have no laws,” she says. “You’re not a citizen. You are nothing.”



Nguyen Ngoc Nhu Quynh, known by her pen name Mother Mushroom, is a Vietnamese blogger who drew attention for criticizing the Communist Party–controlled government. In 2017, she was sentenced to 10 years in prison for “propaganda against the state.” In October, Quynh was released in a freedom-for-exile deal. Now in the U.S., she vows to continue highlighting abuses in her home country.

“I was totally terrified, and I decided to keep silent,” she says. “But then after that, I realized ... if you know what it is that you are afraid of, then you can go and do exactly what you wish to do.”

not only by laws and court decisions, but the awareness of the great majority of public officials who serve something larger than themselves.

But dissonance rains down from the top. In November, the White House not only took the unprecedented step of banning a reporter—it then released, as supporting evidence, an apparently doctored video, digitally altered to portray actions that had not occurred. Still more remarkably, the video was first shared by Infowars, the aptly named website of Alex Jones, the fringe conspiracy theorist who traffics in paranoia and illusion.

A U.S. district judge ordered CNN chief White House correspondent Jim Acosta's press pass returned; Fox News joined the pleadings on the side of the press, and the White House obliged. But days earlier, a Fox host, Sean Hannity, had joined the President on the stage of a campaign rally. The President promotes Fox shows routinely in tweets, and vociferously opposed the merger of CNN parent company Time Warner (a onetime parent of TIME) with AT&T.

The consolidation of the nation's media outlets is certainly cause for concern. Just five corporations control what most Americans see or hear (in 1983, it was 50). But Trump made no public objection when Sinclair Broadcast Group proposed buying Tribune Media. That merger would have left Sinclair with television stations that reach 72% of U.S. homes—nearly double the percentage allowed by the FCC, which had winked at earlier expansions. Sinclair is an unusual owner, in that it requires stations to carry news reports and commentaries from its central office, packaged to appear local. In March, Sinclair required some 200 anchors to recite a script warning that “some members of the media use their platforms to push their own personal bias and agenda to control exactly what people think.” The website Deadspin captured the Orwellian moment in a chilling compilation video.

For the first time in living memory, an element of personal danger has entered coverage of public affairs in America. Bodyguards now escort CNN reporters through Trump rallies, and the network's Manhattan newsroom was evacuated in October when its mail room found one of the 16 pipe bombs addressed to Trump critics. Police traced the bombs to a Florida man living in a van plastered with Trump stickers.

THE HEIGHTENED RISK for journalists in the U.S. still pales compared with those working to report the truth elsewhere. In Myanmar, the friction points in society are ethnic, with an overlay of religion. About 88% of the people are Buddhist. The Rohingya are a small population of Muslims mostly from the state of Rakhine, not far from Bangladesh, the Muslim country that many Burmese regard as the best dwelling place for the Rohingya. Successive





governments have refused to give Rohingya citizenship, rendering most stateless. There is an armed separatist movement, a contested history and a state of tension that is almost constant, especially in Rakhine state.

Kyaw Soe Oo grew up there. He was raised Buddhist, but did not share the widespread bias against his Rohingya neighbors. “Kyaw Soe Oo believes every human should be treated equally and there should be no discrimination against anyone,” says his wife, Chit Su Win. “He has tried to teach his daughter this value too.” As her mother spoke inside a tidy apartment strewn with toys in Yangon’s Insein township, the 3-year-old sat on her lap, watching *Frozen*.

Once a poet, Kyaw Soe Oo found a passion for journalism. He worked for a local paper, then in 2017 was hired as a reporter for Reuters, the global news agency. He worked closely with Wa Lone, a hard-charging reporter who at 32 is four years older, also Buddhist and also from the provinces. Together, they covered one of the biggest stories in the world that year—the transfer of hundreds of thousands of Rohingya across the border to Bangladesh, pushed out by Burmese forces.

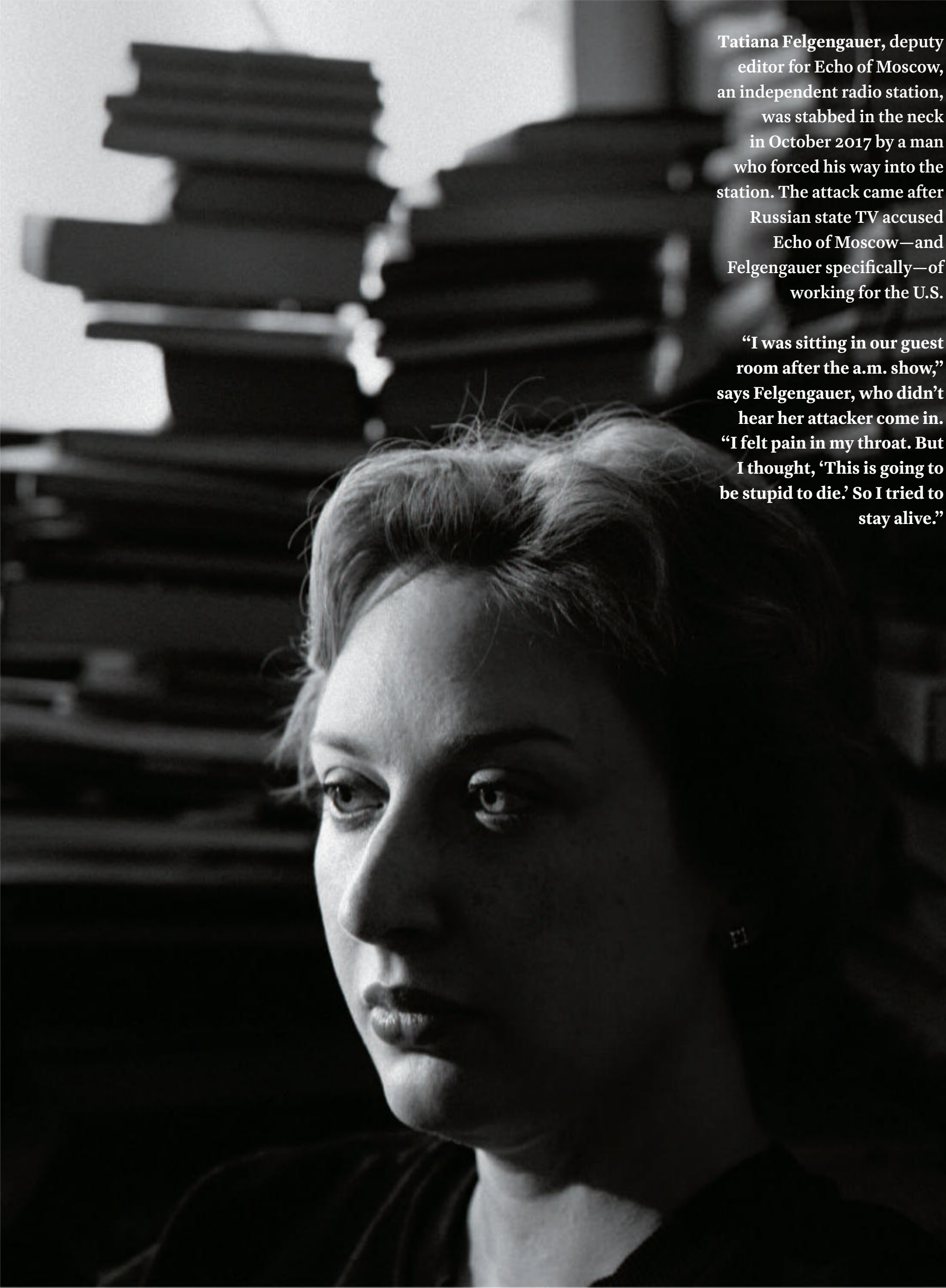
Working in their homeland for a leading international news organization, they walked a line that eluded Aung San Suu Kyi, the de facto leader of the government who, before she wielded political power, won a Nobel Prize for Peace for her moral authority. In power, she has remained silent as verified reports pile up of arson, rape and mass executions by military forces against the Rohingya.

On Dec. 12, 2017, Kyaw Soe Oo and Wa Lone were invited to dinner by a police official. They had been investigating the execution of 10 Rohingya men the official’s unit was involved in. After the meal, the police handed the reporters some papers, discreetly wrapped in a newspaper. Moments



Global Pressure

Clockwise from top left: Andrea Chamblee, wife of late *Capital* reporter John McNamara, at a June 29, vigil; a Trump volunteer blocks a camera at a rally Aug. 30; a protester supporting free speech is led away by Hong Kong police officers near the Foreign Correspondents’ Club on Aug. 14; thousands protest government control of media in Budapest on April 21; a Trump supporter holds up a FAKE NEWS shirt at a rally Oct. 4; a White House intern tries to take the microphone held by CNN’s Jim Acosta on Nov. 7

A black and white portrait of Tatiana Felgengauer, a woman with light-colored hair pulled back, looking slightly to the left. The background is dark and out of focus, showing some architectural elements like a staircase.

Tatiana Felgengauer, deputy editor for Echo of Moscow, an independent radio station, was stabbed in the neck in October 2017 by a man who forced his way into the station. The attack came after Russian state TV accused Echo of Moscow—and Felgengauer specifically—of working for the U.S.

“I was sitting in our guest room after the a.m. show,” says Felgengauer, who didn’t hear her attacker come in. “I felt pain in my throat. But I thought, ‘This is going to be stupid to die.’ So I tried to stay alive.”



Luz Mely Reyes had covered politics in Venezuela for more than 20 years when she co-founded an independent news site, Efecto Cocuyo (“Firefly Effect”), amid the country’s political turmoil in 2015. Venezuela’s economic collapse and increasingly authoritarian government mean journalists face violence and censorship every day.

“Free journalism in Venezuela,” says Reyes, “is a species in extinction.”

‘I do it because it
has to be done.
It just has to,’
Babchenko says.
‘That’s the duty
of a journalist.
You do it because
you must.’

later, the reporters were placed under arrest for possession of the papers, which they had not yet read. In September, Kyaw Soe Oo and Wa Lone were sentenced to seven years in prison. A police captain who testified that they were framed was prosecuted separately.

Whom do you trust? It may seem a wonder that, in a world riven by tribal tensions, national leaders seek division where sturdy bridges already stand, and confusion where clarity can mean the difference between life and death. The world may not be getting worse, only more confused, but in time that distinction can vanish. There is urgent work ahead in shaping a communications system guided not by software but by the judgment of citizens, and the social contract implied in the First Amendment: facts matter.

Not even his wife really understood what Kyaw Soe Oo did for a living. She got a glimmer of the risk involved from a Korean movie they watched together, about a reporter covering a massacre. And then one day in 2017 she went with him into Rakhine, to do some sightseeing in a town that suddenly came under attack from a Rohingya militant group.

“I went with him because I had never been to Maungdaw before,” she says. “I wanted to see Maungdaw. I saw fighting.

“I ran. He went to work.” —*With reporting by* ABIGAIL ABRAMS, KATIE REILLY *and* PAUL MOAKLEY/NEW YORK; ABBY VESOULIS *and* JOSH MEYER/WASHINGTON; SIMON SHUSTER/KIEV; ELI MEIXLER/DHAKA; LAIGNEE BARRON/YANGON; IOAN GRILLO/SINALOA; JOSEPH HINCKS *and* FELIZ SOLOMON/HONG KONG; *and* MATT SANDY/RIO DE JANEIRO





Arkady Babchenko spent years as a Russian war correspondent, leaving for Kiev in 2017 after his criticism of the Kremlin led to threats against him. Last spring, when Ukraine's intelligence agency warned of a plot to assassinate him, he faked his own death in a sting operation designed to catch the people paying for the murders—a controversial move in the journalism world. "At some point you have to pick a side," Babchenko says. "When you're confronted with evil, real evil, you can't just take your notebook out and ask it for a comment."

Only tr
transpar
guarantee

Truth and
freedom can
be freedom

JOHN MCCAIN
1936 — 2018

no. **2** | THE DISRUPTER

DONALD TRUMP

2018 | THE SHORT LIST

By Molly Ball

Some Presidents have plans to change the world. They execute their strategies step by step and are judged by how far they get. Donald Trump came to the presidency by surprise and has attended to its responsibilities erratically. And yet, just as he rewrote the rules of politics in 2016 and remade the presidency in 2017, Trump left his mark on the planet this year.

He played a role in virtually every one of the year's major trends, from the battle over social media's influence to the populist wave sweeping Europe to the new direction of the U.S. Supreme Court. But his greatest impact hasn't come through conventional actions: the articulation of a governing agenda, the management of international relationships, the championing of legislation. Instead, true to the unpredictability that thrilled so many voters and worried so many others, he has been a disrupter, stoking political divisions, breaking institutional norms and weakening the power of the federal government from within.

Trump's moves have touched the lives of millions. By loosening the rules on everything from water safety to banking, he has changed the balance of power between businesses and consumers. Disavowing decades of U.S. strategy in Europe, the Middle East and northeast Asia,



he has scrambled alliances and emboldened strongmen. He has upended American politics, darkening the tone of the public debate and spurring both parties to remake themselves in response to his provocations. Scholars have compared Trump to Andrew Jackson for his populist fervor and to Richard Nixon for his willingness to attack the justice system. But Trump is a singular figure. “He is in a category of his own,” says historian Michael Beschloss.

For all Trump’s influence there is a crowning irony: his ultimate impact may be determined as much by the resistance he engenders as by the goals he pursues. In some fights, expected checks have never materialized: Republicans have amplified his attacks on the American voting process, on the press, on immigrants and refugees. Yet elsewhere he has been rebuffed: domestic institutions from the courts to the Cabinet have resisted presidential overreach. In November, the people imposed a check on his power, ushering in a new era of divided government.

This year brought forth the consequences of Trump’s disruption. The deficit soared. The stock market trembled. The voters revolted. Special counsel Robert Mueller circled closer. Trump has tested the system and exposed its weaknesses, but also revealed its strength.

WHEN VISITORS SEE PRESIDENT TRUMP in the Oval Office or at his desk aboard Air Force One, Trump likes to ask an aide to bring out what he calls “the dots.” It’s a three-page, bullet-pointed summary of what Trump considers to be his Administration’s greatest accomplishments. Trump touts “4 million jobs created since election” and more Americans employed than “ever recorded before in our history.” He boasts of ordering the creation of a military space force, canceling the “job killing Clean Power plan” and withdrawing from the “horrible, one-sided Iran Deal.”

The list is trademark Trump, equal parts exaggeration and self-aggrandizement. But it also highlights the nature of his impact. Presidents are traditionally judged chiefly by their laws and wars. In 2018, Trump’s accomplishments took place mostly in the absence of both.

Trump could not get Congress to fund his border wall or pass his restrictionist vision for immigration policy. Courts put on hold his attempt to rescind protections for Dreamers. But he pursued his divisive agenda through the Executive Branch. Enraged by the flow of undocumented immigrants over the southern border (which, by historical standards, is at a low ebb), he put in place a policy of separating migrant children from their parents in order to send a harsh message to potential border crossers. It was officially withdrawn after a public outcry in June, but hundreds of children may have been permanently traumatized or lost to deported relatives. Thousands now reside in detention camps, while thousands more wait in a squalid converted stadium in Tijuana for the chance to seek refuge in the U.S.

Until the recent market downturn, most U.S. economic



Trump arrives at a Sept. 21 campaign rally in Missouri, one of sev

indicators soared throughout the year. The tax cut the GOP passed in December 2017 fueled corporate profits. With the unemployment rate at historic lows, wages rose somewhat and businesses complained of a hiring crisis. Trump spurned fiscal conservatism, boosting spending toward a \$1 trillion annual deficit and ballooning the national debt by \$1.9 trillion. He also abandoned his populist economic promises, which included raising taxes on hedge-fund managers, providing universal health care, spending on public works and reining in prescription-drug prices. The result: majorities of voters considered their economic situation satisfactory, but few believed the President’s policies benefited them personally.

Where Trump did follow through was on his promise to change America’s trade relationships. In 2018, he pursued a protectionist agenda with zeal. The tariffs started small last January, with duties on washing machines, then ramped up with steel and aluminum, then escalated into a



eral states where he helped push GOP Senate candidates to victory

broad range of levies affecting allies like Canada as much as economic foes like China. Agricultural exports were hit hard. The President's policies punished corn and soybean farmers in the rural areas that had buoyed him politically and exacerbated an ongoing dairy crisis. Small businesses complained of rising costs. Trump touted his renegotiation of the North American Free Trade Agreement, in which Mexico and Canada agreed to new terms ostensibly better for U.S. industry. But the agreement was a minor modification of the much maligned 1994 deal and has yet to be ratified.

Trump and the GOP found new ways to attack and undermine the Affordable Care Act. Regulators pared back the outreach programs intended to boost enrollment and help people find coverage, while expanding the industry's ability to sell low-cost plans with fewer protections. The Administration declined to defend the requirement to cover people's pre-existing health conditions against a multistate lawsuit. It also paved the way

for states to impose work requirements on Medicaid; five have already received federal approval to do so, and Arkansas has put a program in place. But these moves came at a political cost: Democrats embraced Obama-care's rising popularity and campaigned to protect its most popular provisions. "The Affordable Care Act is still standing, in spite of efforts to undermine it," says Larry Levitt of the Kaiser Family Foundation.

Health care was just one area in which regulators sought to accomplish what legislators could not. The Education Department abandoned Obama-era efforts to crack down on diploma mills. It also moved to replace college sexual-assault rules that even some liberals criticized for infringing on the rights of the accused. The Environmental Protection Agency rolled back pollution rules. The head of the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, founded as a clearinghouse for consumer complaints about financial services, halted its investigations of companies and collections of fines. The Department of Justice ceased overseeing troubled police departments around the country. Millions of lives were affected by these often unheralded regulatory changes.

Trump and his GOP congressional allies moved dozens of judicial nominations; approximately one-sixth of all federal appellate judges are now Trump appointees. Most dramatically, Trump nominated Brett Kavanaugh to replace Anthony Kennedy on the Supreme Court, then stood behind him when it looked like the pick might be derailed by Christine Blasey Ford's accusation that Kavanaugh had sexually assaulted her in high school. By cementing a 5-4 conservative majority on the court, Trump may have remade the American legal landscape for decades.

Trump's most consequential moves may have come in his attacks on the U.S. justice system. In the spring, he reportedly ordered prosecutors to target Hillary Clinton for investigation, and in May he alleged the FBI had tried to infiltrate his presidential campaign for political purposes. He fired Attorney General Jeff Sessions for insufficient fealty in the Mueller investigation. He has publicly and privately pressured law-enforcement officials, commented on cases under way, teased the prospect of pardons and opined on witnesses' credibility, all actions that threaten the judicial system's independence and integrity.

THE FIRST TWO WEEKS of March captured Trump's disruptive approach to foreign policy. On March 8 he fulfilled a long-delayed promise to impose tariffs on foreign steel and aluminum. The same day, hearing that a delegation from South Korea was in the White House to meet with other officials, Trump summoned them to the Oval Office and stunned his aides by agreeing on the spot to an unprecedented face-to-face meeting with the reclusive North Korean dictator, Kim Jong Un. On March 13 Trump fired Secretary of State Rex Tillerson, the former oil executive whose cautious style he'd mocked. Two months later, Trump pulled the U.S. out of the Iran nuclear deal.

As 2018 progressed, Trump dismissed advisers who had previously constrained him on trade and diplomacy. In doing so, he scrambled the economic relationships that had held together the post-Cold War international order. Critics say he has made America less essential and more isolated on the world stage. “I think this President has done enormous damage to the United States,” says Nicholas Burns, a former U.S. ambassador to NATO and top State Department official under George W. Bush.

Trump’s June summit with Kim ended in warm handshakes and friendly rhetoric. But there was no formal agreement, and U.S. investigators say North Korea has continued to pursue its nuclear and missile programs. Kim was not the only dictator Trump cozied up to. In July, Trump met with Russian President Vladimir Putin in Helsinki, talking without aides present for over two hours, then emerging to declare that Putin “was extremely strong and powerful in his denial” of meddling in the 2016 election. In November, Trump took the side of the Saudi crown prince, Mohammed bin Salman, who allegedly directed the murder and dismemberment of journalist and dissident Jamal Khashoggi, a U.S. resident, at the Saudi consulate in Istanbul. The damage to America’s moral standing, Trump’s critics say, may be hard to repair. “We grew up in a totalitarian state, seeing America as a hope,” says Vladimir Milov, a Russian opposition leader and former Energy Minister. “It represented a normal system, values, freedom. It is no longer.”

Trump’s actions have real effects beyond matters of image and reputation. In November, for example, French President Emmanuel Macron called for the creation of a “true European army,” apparently in reaction to Trump’s criticism of NATO and friendliness with Russia. Countries that were close allies with the U.S. have begun to seek partnerships with China instead. Meanwhile, Beijing has made incursions into disputed territory in the South China Sea, conducting “training exercises” that U.S. officials say are a cover for military buildup. Trump “has created tremendous uncertainty, and that creates an opportunity for others to fill the void,” says John Glenn, policy director of the U.S. Global Leadership Coalition. “China, especially, has taken advantage.”

IN A DEMOCRACY, accountability rests with the people, which can be a dicey proposition: the people, after all, have a tendency to be inattentive, irrational and mercurial. But they also possess the ability to send a message through the ballot box that their leaders have to heed.

On Nov. 6, in the nation’s first major opportunity to register its verdict on the Trump era, the signal was unmistakable. After all the votes were counted, the Democratic Party’s congressional candidates had won

the largest proportion of the vote, 53%, since the post-Watergate landslide of 1974. They gained 40 seats in the House of Representatives, seven governorships and hundreds of seats in state legislatures.

Democrats campaigned mainly on pocketbook issues, telling voters they’d protect Social Security and the Affordable Care Act. But it was clear that Trump was the axis on which the election turned. Two-thirds of midterm voters told exit pollers they’d cast their ballots to send a message about the President. Independent voters swung hard toward the Democrats, and college-educated women were particularly determined to show their disapproval. Democrats won the states that put Trump in the White House—Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin—and took over suburban districts from Orange County, California, to Charleston, Atlanta and Oklahoma City. It was the largest midterm election turnout in more than a century. While a typical midterm draws only about half as many voters as a presidential election, the number of ballots cast for Democrats in 2018 reached 92% of the total Hillary Clinton received when she won the popular vote in 2016.

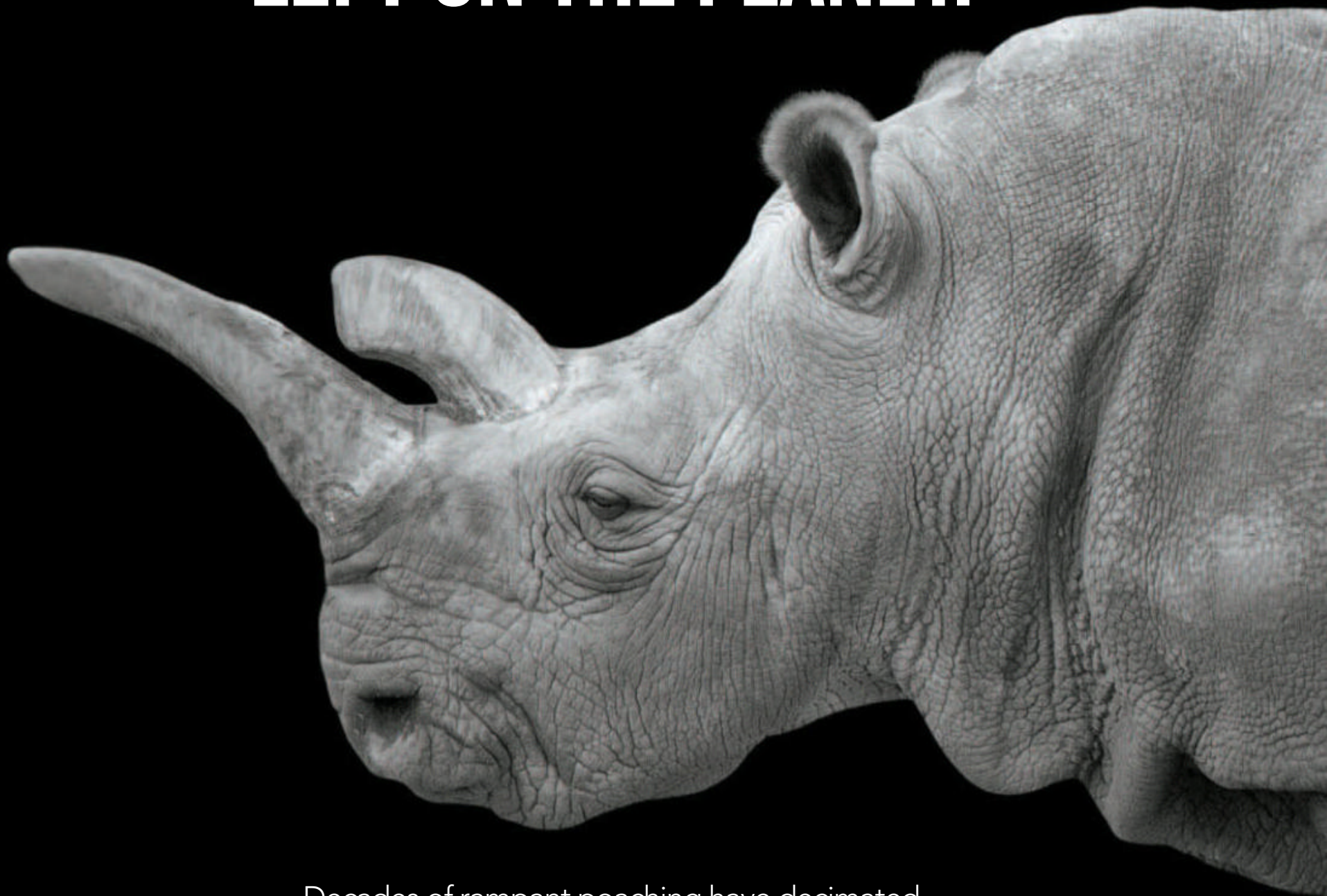
The President galvanized his party as well. He sent troops to the border in a brazen political stunt weeks before the vote, barnstormed rural strongholds and rallied Republicans to the polls with a divisive closing message. Most Presidents struggle to rouse their bases when they’re not on the ballot, but Trump did, helping to limit GOP losses in parts of the country where he remains popular and powering his party to a two-seat gain in the Senate—a split decision that augurs even deeper political divides.

Trump’s pull on the GOP appears almost mesmerizing. The party that once stood for free markets and moral values now stands for whatever Trump wants it to, whether it’s antagonism to federal law enforcement, enthusiasm for Russia’s authoritarian regime, the rejection of refugees or a belief in “deep state” conspiracy theories. This year’s Republican primaries unfolded as loyalty competitions, and the winning candidates were generally those who professed their enthusiasm for the President most effusively: Florida’s governor-elect beat a more experienced GOP contender with an ad that showed him teaching his infant daughter to read a Trump campaign sign. In the general election, Republican candidates largely abandoned talk of tax cuts and judicial appointments in favor of the President’s preferred themes of illegal immigration and “fake news.”

But as much as Trump inspired his supporters, he inspired everyone else even more. Before Trump came along, political organizers tied themselves in knots trying to get more women to run for office, usually to little avail. In 2018, thousands of women decided to seek election, explaining that they had been spurred

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For all the disruption, the American system is proving remarkably resilient; that too may be part of Trump's legacy

off the sidelines by the President. First-time candidates from diverse backgrounds won Democratic primaries: former Republicans, former CIA operatives, former mixed-martial-arts fighters—all driven by what felt to them like a national political emergency.

Millions more took political action on their behalf, protesting, canvassing, sending handwritten postcards to voters. The result is that a record 126 women will serve in the next Congress, nearly a quarter of the total—84% of them Democrats. The new face of the Democratic Party is the face of Trump's opposition: women, young people and people of color.

This is the next generation of American politics, and it's one Trump made. Democrats are already maneuvering for the 2020 presidential primaries, promising a roiling debate over the party's direction. But above all, that battle will be a competition about who can beat Trump.

TWO YEARS INTO TRUMP'S TERM, it's hard to gauge whether the result of his disruptions will be catastrophic or anticlimactic. In many cases Trump has spotlighted long-unaddressed problems. NATO countries have, in fact, underfunded the defense targets of the alliance.

China has been cheating the U.S. on intellectual property for years and maintaining an advantage on trade. Global migration has put pressure on liberal democracies worldwide. Even Hillary Clinton recently said that European countries need to reform their immigration policies in response to resurgent right-wing parties.

American democracy can seem dysfunctional, with its gridlocked Congress and polarized public debate. But many institutions—the military, the justice system, the courts—have risen to resist Trump's attacks. Trump has tested the nation, and some pillars of American democracy have proved up to the challenge, says presidential historian Timothy Naftali. "Trump is the first President to make undermining routinely our public institutions part of his brand," he says. "Our judiciary is standing up to his Administration when it crosses a line. The Mueller investigation is going forward. Intimates of the President have been indicted. That wouldn't be happening if our institutions were falling apart."

For all the disruption, in other words, the American system is proving remarkably resilient. That too may be part of Trump's legacy. —*With reporting by* BRIAN BENNETT/WASHINGTON

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ROBERT MUELLER

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By Brian Bennett and Tessa Berenson

Even in his own domain, Robert Mueller is often silent. When witnesses arrive at the special counsel's office in southwest Washington, they are ushered through an underground parking garage and up to an austere, windowless conference room. Mueller's prosecutors do the talking. The man in charge, if he appears at all, greets visitors with a polite handshake and then retreats to a seat against a wall.

Since becoming special counsel for the Russia probe, Mueller has spoken only through his work: in the hundreds of pages of known court filings, some of which laid out Moscow's alleged plots to help Donald Trump win the presidency; in the 34 people and entities he charged with crimes this year; in the plea deals he made with Trump's former lawyer, former campaign chairman and another top campaign aide. Beyond that: Nothing. No interviews. No press conferences. No tweets. No leaks.

Mueller's silence has invited noisy speculation from partisans. To critics on the right, he is an overzealous prosecutor drunk on power and roaming beyond his mandate in a bid to drum Trump out of office. To liberals, he is a crusading hero who won't quit until he brings the President to justice. The public narrative of Mueller's investigation this year has often described its central character more as myth than man.



So it is instructive to hear friends and former colleagues talk about Robert Swan Mueller III. Not because they portray a perfect person, but because they describe a complicated one: relentless but circumspect, impatient but thorough, difficult but respected. Mueller, they say, is the kind of man who flicks the lights off and on at his home to inform guests that it's time to leave a social gathering, and who is so keenly aware of any appearance of impropriety that he won't even enter the same room as friends who are working on the other side of the Russia case. As FBI director, he twice threatened to resign over matters of legal principle, winning the standoff both times, and was infamous for eviscerating ill-prepared underlings. "If indicting his own mother was the right thing to do," says former FBI assistant director Tom Fuentes, "he would do it."

These qualities, manifest in Mueller's work this year, are why many believe he was ideally suited to oversee the biggest test to the American system of justice since Watergate. As the nation awaits Mueller's report and the political pressure intensifies, he has led the investigation with the same rigor and sense of duty that has marked his life. "He likes to follow procedures," says David Kris, former Assistant Attorney General in the national-security division of the Department of Justice. "And those procedures he sees as a safe harbor against the stormy seas of politicization."

What they do not guarantee is a clean outcome. Because where Mueller may be headed, there is no precedent or protocol. There's no rule book for what Mueller must do if he finds evidence that Trump is guilty of a crime. The justice system, all the way down to its foundational document, does not provide for a President to be prosecuted by the law-enforcement system he leads: it is a constitutional gray zone. Yet Mueller is a man who tends to see the world in black and white. "He sees no compromise to what he sees as right," says Mueller's friend Thomas Wilner. How the reflexive rule follower reacts when there are few to guide him may ultimately define this chapter in American history.

TRUMP AND MUELLER could hardly be more different. One created a public persona as the embodiment of gaudy capitalism; the other is a reticent patrician, driven and serious, who's devoted his life to institutions. One embodies disruption, the other consistency. One flouts the rules, the other enforces them. One is the avatar of disorder, the other the personification of order. Nothing less than core principles of American justice and self-government are at stake in their struggle.

This year that contest has turned into a brawl. On the advice of his lawyers, Trump originally submitted to the special counsel's probing, affirming the investigation's legitimacy and seeking to create an image of cooperation. But as Mueller's investigation has intensified—it has now stretched to over 80% of Trump's term—the President's patience has worn thin and his posture has changed.

On Feb. 16, a federal grand jury in the District of Columbia returned an indictment against 13 Russians and three Russian companies. The 37-page document, signed by



Attendees at a House committee hearing on July 12 display posters

Mueller, read like a spy thriller. During the 2016 election, it alleged, the Russians posed as Americans to interfere in the presidential campaign. They helped apparently unwitting Trump campaign staff organize rallies in Florida. They created hundreds of social-media accounts posing as anti-immigration groups, Christian activists, supporters of the Black Lives Matter movement and the Tennessee Republican Party.

Mueller's rendering of the facts cast a shadow on Trump's win and settled whatever debate remained about the scale of Moscow's scheme. Project Lakhta, as the influence operation was called in later Justice Department documents, allegedly had been organized years earlier by Russian President Vladimir Putin via his close ally Yevgeny Prigozhin, an oligarch who started out as Putin's chef but had risen to run a vast network of mercenaries and spies. Over time, court documents would reveal that Mueller had access to Project Lakhta's accounts.

Within weeks of the February indictment, Trump's 2016 deputy campaign chairman, Rick Gates, pleaded guilty to tax- and bank-fraud charges, agreeing to testify against his former boss, Trump's onetime campaign chairman



depicting five men who pleaded guilty to charges brought by Mueller

Paul Manafort. It was a blow to Trump: in one month, Mueller had laid out in damning detail how a foreign power had worked to help put him in the Oval Office, and brought a key campaign operative into the web of the investigation.

At the time, Trump's legal team was led by John Dowd, a veteran white-collar defense attorney. Dowd struck a cooperative tone with Mueller's team, turning over thousands of pages of documents and clearing the way for hours of testimony by close Trump aides, including White House counsel Don McGahn. Dowd and Trump refrained from disparaging Mueller in public, while the legal team conducted delicate negotiations over whether and how the special counsel's team could interview the President.

But as Mueller started flipping some of Trump's former advisers and squeezing others, Dowd and Trump reportedly parted ways on strategy. "The team started out with, We're going to cooperate and turn everything over," says Victoria Toensing, a lawyer who was in talks to join Trump's team around the time Dowd left in March. "They took a tough stand after they saw the direction Mueller was going."

The face of the new combativeness was Trump lawyer Rudy Giuliani, who came on in April. "The day Giuliani

came onto the team was the day that the accommodation ended and the confrontation began," says Harvard Law School professor Alan Dershowitz, who has criticized the Mueller probe. Trump began hammering Mueller by name, while Giuliani went on a media blitz through the summer. The attacks played to conservatives' perceptions of an out-of-control "deep state" and pointed to findings by the department's inspector general that investigators and top officials at the FBI and Justice had behaved improperly. Mueller's approval rating—by now it was being tracked by news organizations, as if he were a candidate for office—dropped below 50% in June.

Giuliani admitted his goal was to discredit the special counsel's work before the public, regardless of the legal merits. "This case is not going to be tried before a jury," Giuliani told TIME in June. "It's not a criminal case. It's an investigation that's going to result in a report, and the issue will be what happens to that report, and public opinion is going to have a lot to do with that." In other words, even if Mueller reports evidence that the President broke the law, Trump wouldn't be impeached and then convicted by a Republican-led Senate if the Senators' constituents thought the whole thing was a hoax.

But as Trump lashed out, Mueller kept plugging away. In July, days before Trump was due to meet with Putin in Helsinki, Mueller indicted 12 Russians, including members of the GRU, the country's military-intelligence service. Citing specifics such as emails and street addresses, Mueller alleged that the Russian officials had targeted more than 300 people connected to Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign with spear-phishing attempts funded in part by a Bitcoin money-laundering operation. The emails were released at key moments during the race.

Back at home, Mueller moved closer to Trump. In August, a Virginia federal jury convicted Manafort on eight counts of financial crimes including bank fraud and tax fraud, committed before he joined Trump's campaign. In a related case, prosecutors announced a plea agreement with Trump's longtime personal lawyer, Michael Cohen. Cohen admitted on Nov. 29 that he had lied in written testimony to Congress about a Trump real estate venture in Moscow that he had discussed with the Kremlin at Trump's behest during the 2016 campaign.

Mueller revealed just how much Cohen had been helping over the previous three months in a separate filing on Dec. 7. Cohen had alleged that multiple well-connected Russians had tried to contact Trump with business proposals from 2015 into 2016, using Cohen as a conduit. Cohen also indicated he had circulated his false response to Congress to others. In all, Mueller has brought charges against 36 people or entities for nearly 200 felony counts over his entire investigation. Each of the six Americans Mueller has charged so far has either pleaded guilty or been convicted, and more are likely in his sights.

By now Mueller's work has unearthed evidence of at least two potential crimes committed by President Trump—allegedly violating campaign-finance laws by conspiring with Cohen to pay hush money during the

2016 campaign to two women who said they had affairs with Trump. And Mueller may have only begun to lay out what he knows.

EACH MORNING, Mueller leaves his home in a leafy neighborhood in northwest Washington and rides through the still quiet streets of the capital, arriving at his desk before much of the city has rolled out of bed. The special counsel's office is headquartered a few blocks south of the National Mall, amid an imposing collection of federal buildings. Like many ad hoc operations in Washington, the office interior is described by those who have seen it as "spartan."

Mueller's longer journey to the job was a lifetime in the making. Born in 1944 into a country at war, he was given the name of his father, Robert Swan Mueller Jr., a Princeton grad who captained a Navy sub chaser in the Mediterranean and later became an executive at DuPont. The younger Mueller grew up in New Jersey and attended high school at St. Paul's, an elite New Hampshire boarding school, where he played on the varsity lacrosse team with future Secretary of State John Kerry. Then he followed his father to Princeton, writing his senior thesis on African territorial disputes before the International Court of Justice.

In college, Mueller met David Hackett, an older lacrosse teammate who became a role model. Mueller decided that, like Hackett, he wanted to join the Marines. After graduating in 1966, Mueller married his high school sweetheart and enlisted in the Corps. The following year, Hackett was killed by a sniper during his second tour in Vietnam. Mueller has said that Hackett's death only strengthened his resolve to follow his classmate's service. The commitment provides a window into the 22-year-old Mueller's character: a young man with wealth, a new wife and no shortage of professional options chose to join the Marines during an escalating war.

The battlefield tests came quickly. In December 1968, his platoon was attacked at Mutter's Ridge, a notorious combat zone separating North from South Vietnam. During the hours-long gunfight, many men were killed. Mueller was awarded a Bronze Star with a distinction for valor for his conduct in that battle. A few months later, he was shot in the thigh during an ambush but saw the battle through with a bullet hole in his leg. When the wound healed a few weeks later, he returned to active duty.

Mueller served in Vietnam for one year, but the stint would set the course for the rest of his life. "You can't understand him without understanding his roots as a Marine," says Lisa Monaco, his former chief of staff at the FBI and later homeland-security adviser to President Barack Obama. "His leadership style and his work ethic and his focus on leading by example and with integrity are all completely bound up and informed by his service as a Marine." That Mueller survived his tour while others did not only heightened his sense of duty. "Perhaps because of

that," Mueller said during a 2013 commencement address at the College of William & Mary, "I have always felt compelled to try to give back in some way."

After law school at the University of Virginia, Mueller spent three years as a litigator in a private firm in San Francisco, then 12 in the U.S. Attorney's offices in San Francisco and Boston. He joined the Boston law firm of Hill and Barlow in 1988, but learned he hated billing hours and chasing clients. In 1989 he went to work at the Justice Department, becoming head of its criminal division under Attorney General William Barr—who looks set to become his boss again soon, after being nominated for the same role on Dec. 7 by Trump. In his perch atop DOJ's criminal division, Mueller oversaw the investigations of Panamanian dictator Manuel Noriega; the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland; and the prosecution of the mob boss John Gotti.

When Bill Clinton was elected President in 1992, Mueller—a lifelong registered Republican—left government to become a partner at the white-shoe law firm Hale & Dorr. But he bristled at representing clients he thought might

be guilty, friends say, and shocked colleagues by becoming a homicide prosecutor in the U.S. Attorney's office in Washington during the crack epidemic, trading a lucrative job for a grueling, anonymous one. "This is not flashy work, it is not high-profile work, it is not work that makes you famous," says Kris, now co-founder of the Culper Partners consulting firm. "That tells you something about what's important to him."

When George W. Bush became President in 2001, he picked Mueller to become FBI director. Seven days after his swearing-in came the Sept. 11 terror attacks. For the next 12 years, under Bush and later Obama, Mueller reshaped the bureau to focus on intelligence and counterterrorism along with traditional criminal law enforcement, attacking the mission with focus and intensity.

For all his admirers, plenty of employees at the bureau disliked Mueller. Critics chafed at his overbearing style and dubbed him Uncle Bob. He chewed through special agents in charge who were slow to adapt to his demands. Even many supporters found him to be a remote leader. "There was a sense that he was a bit callous," says a former high-ranking FBI official who worked closely with Mueller, "and that he was so driven by the mission that he forgot about the people." Former Attorney General Alberto Gonzales, who met daily with Mueller for more than two years, considers him a friend but adds, "I don't remember any instances where Bob and I just sat around chatting and joking around and kidding." The seriousness was even reflected in his wardrobe: Mueller preferred to wear white shirts to work, an old FBI tradition dating back to the Hoover era.

Mueller acknowledges his impatience. In his address at William & Mary, he recalled that during his days at Justice he'd often cut off attorneys by saying, "What is the issue?" One evening, he said, his wife started telling him about a

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Amid speculation that Trump might fire Mueller, protesters gather at the White House on Nov. 8 to support the special counsel

hard day. He interjected with the same curt question. She did not appreciate it. “I am your wife,” he recalled her saying. “I am not one of your attorneys. Do not ever ask me, ‘What is the issue?’ You will sit there and you will listen until I am finished.”

“That night, I did learn the importance of listening to those around you—truly listening—before making judgment, before taking action,” he continued. “I also learned to use that question sparingly, and never, ever with my wife.”

AS SPECIAL COUNSEL, Mueller was charged in 2017 with uncovering “any links and/or coordination between the Russian government and individuals associated with the campaign of President Donald Trump” as part of the “investigation of the Russian government’s efforts to interfere in the 2016 presidential election.” He was also empowered to pursue “any matters that arose or may arise directly from the investigation.”

The big question now is whether Mueller will find evidence that the President colluded with a foreign power to get elected or obstructed the investigation. Mueller has already charged several of Trump’s aides with lying to investigators. If he finds evidence that the President did

commit a crime, that could in turn lead to impeachment proceedings in the House.

Mueller faces a harder challenge if he believes Trump should be prosecuted under the federal justice system. There’s no definitive answer as to whether a President can be prosecuted. It’s never happened before, and no court has ruled on the issue. (The Supreme Court heard arguments about it in 1974 in relation to Richard Nixon’s role in the Watergate cover-up but never resolved the question.) The Constitution doesn’t explicitly state whether a President can be prosecuted while in office. The official view of the Executive Branch is that it can’t be done: in 2000, the Office of Legal Counsel wrote a memo arguing that a President can’t be indicted.

It’s not clear if Mueller has his own view of this difficult constitutional question. Nor is it clear what he thinks might be appropriate in this case. For a man devoted to protocol and committed to a black-and-white view of the world, such a moment would be the ultimate test of character. What documents will Mueller refer to if he faces that judgment? What higher principles will guide him as he sorts through his responsibilities? On that, too, Mueller remains silent. —*With reporting by MOLLY BALL* □

ANDREW HARNIK—AP/SHUTTERSTOCK

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Explorer of New Frontiers

Chongqing capitalizes on its pilot free trade zone to transform industries **By Yan Wei & Ji Jing**

A suburban industrial park closed off with customs checkpoints is an unlikely site for a gallery. But this is where Zhang Hang, a 38-year-old entrepreneur, has based his art company in Chongqing, a metropolis in western China with a population of more than 30 million.

The Hongyi Jiuzhou International Culture and Art Development Co. Ltd., founded in the Xiyong Area of the China (Chongqing) Pilot Free Trade Zone (FTZ) in May 2017, deals in artwork and cultural exchanges. Its exhibition halls feature items ranging from embroideries and stone sculptures created by local handicraft makers to oil paintings by Italian, British and French artists.

Zhang, who hails from Guangdong Province in the south, has been doing business in Chongqing for more than 10 years. "When I decided to pursue my career in Chongqing, my friends could hardly understand my choice," Zhang said. "Now they envy me for foreseeing business opportunities in the western region."

Launched 40 years ago and expanding from coastal regions to the hinterland, China's reform and opening-up program continues to advance—and Chongqing has been experiencing its benefits. The FTZ there, inaugurated in April 2017, has supercharged the city's progress. Zhang's company is one of many poised to make the most of the potential Chongqing offers.

Exploring new realms

Zhang chose Xiyong for the good reason that foreign goods, including art, can enter the Xiyong Comprehensive Bonded Area, part of the FTZ, and be warehoused there without paying import duty. Only when items are purchased by domestic buyers and transported out of the area will customs clearance procedures start.

Hongyi Jiuzhou is the first platform in western China and the third nationwide where cultural products are traded in a bonded area, notes Zhang. The other two are in Shanghai and Beijing.

Also, under the FTZ's policy on trade in cultural products, imported artwork can be taken out of the bonded area for exhibitions in Chongqing and elsewhere tariff-free. If not for this FTZ policy, exhibitors would be obligated to undergo a daunting array of administrative procedures.

The company also plays a role in introducing Chinese art overseas. It regularly conducts exchanges with foreign cultural institutions and is therefore able to help local Chongqing artists, artisans and cultural heritage practitioners promote their work internationally.

In September 2017, Hongyi Jiuzhou showcased nearly 500 pieces of artwork in Paris. It was the first in a series of cultural exchange events to be held in countries involved in the China-proposed Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road Initiative, popularly known as the Belt and Road Initiative. The next exhibition will be in Russia.

From April 2017 to June 2018, 16,985 new enterprises registered in the FTZ, according to the Chongqing Municipal Commission of Commerce (CMCC), more than in the previous three years.

For enterprises, the FTZ's appeal lies in easier access, fewer restrictions and greater policy support, said Liang Ming, deputy director of the Coordination Division of the CMCC. These are the precise aims of the FTZ's reforms and innovations.

Apart from streamlining administrative procedures, Chongqing has other—greater—ambitions. In particular, it is trying to rewrite the rules of international railway cargo transportation. Letters of credit (LOCs) issued by local banks guarantee overseas sellers full payment and are widely used in shipping, thereby relieving the financial burden on importers. But banks are reluctant to issue LOCs for cross-border railway transportation since, unlike shipped cargo which is delivered directly to a destination, railway containers are transported by trains of different countries along the way.

Chongqing is exploring a new method whereby a transportation agency takes responsibility for cargo safety, and the railway

station of entry ensures that the goods are released only after the LOC-issuing bank has received payment from the importer. With these assurances, a bank in Chongqing issued the first LOC for railway cargo in March.

Liang believes this new arrangement can facilitate international trade and can be applied elsewhere. Were it to become widely used, he said, the city would negotiate to make it an international practice.

Five years of enterprising and pioneering work in the country's pilot FTZs has seen major progress and breakthroughs in institutional explorations, President Xi Jinping recently said. He urged further efforts to develop pilot FTZs to generate institutional innovations that could be widely adopted.

China established its first pilot FTZ in Shanghai in 2013. There now are 12 pilot FTZs across the country, with the government exploring new ways to facilitate trade and investment. Innovations that prove successful will be copied and employed on a larger scale, even nationwide, in the spirit of promoting reform and opening up.

Industrial evolution

Situated on the upper reaches of the Yangtze River, Chongqing is the only municipality in western China that is directly under the administration of the Central Government. Covering 32,000 square miles, it is five times as large as Beijing. Its population is also larger than that of the other three municipalities—Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai.

Chongqing has sought to boost development by promoting the manufacturing industry and building links with other parts of the world, Liang said. In recent years, a number of leading laptop manufacturers have set up shop in Chongqing, making it the world's largest laptop manufacturing center. HP and Foxconn, the world's largest contract manufacturer of electronics devices, established a presence in the city in 2009, followed by other leading brands like Acer.

To help these companies export their products, Chongqing created cargo train



Ancient-style architecture in downtown Chongqing forms a sharp contrast with modern buildings on the other side of the Jialing River that runs through the city

routes to Europe. Today, these railroads are part of the China-Europe freight rail service network, a flagship project under the Belt and Road Initiative.

After the first Europe-bound container train chugged out of Chongqing in March 2011, a number of other cities followed suit. In a recent count, there were 65 routes to 44 cities in 15 European countries.

The number of trains departing from Chongqing has grown steadily over the years and is soon estimated to exceed 3,000. These trains transport cargo from around the country, with those originating in Chongqing accounting for 30%.

In addition to logistics corridors, Chongqing found that it needed areas with special customs policies to boost the growth of export-oriented laptop manufacturers. This led in one instance to the creation of the Xiyong Comprehensive Bonded Area, where manufacturers can assemble imported parts without paying tariffs.

Newly emerging industrial areas have transformed Chongqing's countryside. A new urban center is being created in its western suburbs, which encompasses the Xiyong Comprehensive Bonded Area, Xiyong Micro-Electronics Industrial Park and Chongqing Logistics City, where the China-Europe freight train terminal is situated and which is

home to a host of logistics companies, as well as a university town.

"Our industrial park was born in light of the need to develop logistics," Gu Xin, an official with Chongqing Logistics City, said. "However, as it keeps expanding, we aim to build it into a modern community with diverse programs, including commercial and cultural services, to meet the needs of the IT companies and universities in nearby areas."

The FTZ incorporates Chongqing's current industrial zones and provides a platform for the city to seek new ways of opening up, Liang said.

The city's advanced transportation infrastructure is one of Chongqing's major assets in an initiative to create an inland FTZ, according to Liang. The city is expanding its transportation network, eyeing a new transportation corridor to Southeast Asia. An emerging network exploiting cargo routes to Europe and Southeast Asia will help it play a pivotal role in international trade.

The new land-sea transit route is part of the China-Singapore (Chongqing) Demonstration Initiative on Strategic Connectivity signed in 2015. The route runs through Chongqing, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, and the provinces of Guizhou, Gansu and Qinghai, and is more cost-efficient than conventional marine routes.

"As processing industries relocate to Southeast Asian countries in the wake of rising labor costs in China, the network will provide clothing manufacturers in Vietnam and Malaysia with easy access to raw materials and markets," Liang said.

While the FTZ presents opportunities, one obstacle is a shortage of highly trained workers, Liang said. Compared with the eastern region, Chongqing suffers from a brain drain and a dearth of both technology-savvy professionals and those versed in international laws and regulations.

Chongqing's traditional major industries of laptop and auto manufacturing are showing signs of slowing down. It is time for the city to transition to higher ends of the industrial chain by introducing sophisticated technology like smart manufacturing, Liang said. But without a sizable pool of skilled workers from which to draw, industrial upgrading will advance only slowly.

Education offers a solution, noted Liang, who is calling for new colleges to nurture the badly needed talent. ■

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THE ACTIVISTS

2018 | THE SHORT LIST

By Charlotte Alter

When a gunman murdered 17 people at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Fla., on Valentine's Day, the shooting at first seemed like one more entry in a gruesome log. For years, each gun massacre in the U.S. has spurred the same grim routine: the shock and grief of survivors; the thoughts and prayers from politicians; the calls for change from gun-control groups. Each time the story would fade and the nation would move on, at least until the next tragedy.

But this time something was different. The nation didn't move on, because the Parkland students didn't let it. In the days after the shooting, an ordinary group of high school kids demanded that America confront the epidemic of gun violence more forcefully than it had in years. They ridiculed politicians' platitudes and confronted Senators on live TV. Their voices became a rallying cry for their generation and a rebuke of the one that came before it: a reminder that by refusing to address gun violence, America has failed its young. "We're children," as Parkland student David Hogg put it. "You guys are the adults."

The students stirred the conscience of a nation grappling with a problem that has long felt hopeless. And in the weeks after the shooting, they teamed up with other young gun-violence-prevention activists from around the



U.S. to organize the March for Our Lives, which they say brought roughly a million people into the streets in 800 separate youth-led marches on March 24, from Washington, D.C., to Helena, Mont.

As the year went on, March for Our Lives expanded beyond mostly white suburban communities like Parkland to become a national movement. The conversation about gun violence grew to include racial justice, media representation and youth political engagement. The students registered more than 50,000 voters across the country, including 10,000 during a Road to Change tour, according to organizers. Since the shooting, 65 new gun-safety measures have passed in states around the U.S., including in 14 states led by Republican governors. Of the NRA's top champions in the House of Representatives, 39 were defeated, according to the Giffords Law Center to Prevent Gun Violence.

The activists' platform focused on urban gun violence as well as school shootings, a recognition of the thousands of peers whose deaths hadn't made the nightly news. "They didn't let it die down," says Alex King, an 18-year-old Chicago activist and president of the March for Our Lives student advisory board. "They let their voices be heard, and then it gave hope to everyone else whose voices haven't been heard in the past."

Most of all, by bearing witness to tragedy, the organizers catalyzed a movement that has bigger and broader goals. "It's become about so much more than gun violence and preventing mass shootings," says Jaclyn Corin, 18, one of the original Parkland organizers, who is now senior class president at Marjory Stoneman Douglas. "It's become about people recognizing the pivotal role of young people in politics."

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT emerged at a moment when national politics remains dominated by baby boomers. Led by the nation's oldest first-term President, governed by one of the oldest Congresses in history, young people watched as leaders in their 60s and 70s weakened environmental regulations, repealed net neutrality and rolled back protections for young immigrants. When these leaders responded to a massacre at a high school with "thoughts and prayers," it was the last straw.

Their anti-gun violence crusade quickly evolved into an attempt to transform American politics. "What we're talking about is a cultural shift, not a flash in the pan," says Matt Deitsch, 21, a Marjory Stoneman Douglas graduate and chief strategist of March for Our Lives. "We're talking about young people who woke up for the first time, got off their asses and voted in record numbers."

For two decades, youth voter turnout in midterm elections has hovered between 20% and 25%, according to the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE) at Tufts University. But in the 2018 midterms, CIRCLE found, 31% of people ages 18 to 29 cast a ballot, up 10 percentage points from the 2014 midterms and the highest turnout among this cohort in a quarter-century. Voters under 30



The March for Our Lives filled Pennsylvania Avenue in Was

supported Democrats in this year's midterms by a 35-point margin, an increase of 24 percentage points since 2014—a bigger political shift than in any other age group, according to John Della Volpe, director of polling at the Institute of Politics at Harvard's Kennedy School. "That shift among young people," says Della Volpe, "is what's responsible for turning a good night into a great night for Democrats," who picked up 40 seats and reclaimed the House majority.

Gun violence was at the heart of this political shift. Della Volpe says young people's views on school shootings as a political issue correlates highly with their likelihood to vote. When asked to pick which political issue is most important to America's future, respondents between 18 and 29 listed school shootings as their top priority, according to his research. According to an October poll by Della Volpe, 80% of young voters in 2018 favor tighter gun-safety laws, including 46% of young Republicans and 48% of young gun owners. The number of young people who want to see stricter gun laws has increased 21 percentage points since the 2012 massacre at Sandy Hook Elementary School in Newtown, Conn. Incoming



hington on March 24, five weeks after the Parkland shooting

freshman Democrats, from Representative Lucy McBath of Georgia to Representative Jason Crow of Colorado, won their seats partly by promising to address gun violence.

The 2018 election showed that a generation of students who learned to practice active-shooter drills before they learned to read had become a political force for the first time. “Lots of teenagers are active, but they didn’t know where to start,” says Bria Smith, a 17-year-old high school senior in Milwaukee and vice president of the March for Our Lives advisory board. “This movement gave them a push to actually activate.”

They weren’t just angry about guns. Emboldened by a newly engaged pool of young activists, United We Dream, the nation’s largest youth-led immigrant-rights organization, led protests against the Trump Administration’s separation of migrant children from their parents and trained young people in civic engagement. “Youth are leading the movements,” says Julieta Garibay, co-founder of United We Dream, which has been organizing youth activists since 2008. “Youth are willing to call out what’s happening and actually hold people accountable.” The Sunrise Movement, a

coalition of young environmental activists urging action to combat climate change, took a page from the Parkland kids by blasting politicians who take donations from fossil-fuel executives and PACs. In November, as newly elected members of Congress attended orientation on Capitol Hill, the Sunrise activists staged a sit-in in House Democratic leader Nancy Pelosi’s office, demanding the new House Democratic majority begin to implement a “Green New Deal,” an idea subsequently supported by 19 members of Congress.

All this is just a preview of the changes that could come when the nation’s largest generation of voters seizes political power. “For years they’ve told us that we’re young and naive and moving too fast,” says Stephen O’Hanlon, national field director of the Sunrise Movement. “The March for Our Lives movement has shown young people across the country our power to do what older generations have said is impossible.”

THE MOVEMENT has a long way to go. In Florida, where much of the original March for Our Lives activism was centered, Parkland activists’ ally Bill Nelson lost his re-election bid for U.S. Senate, and NRA-endorsed Ron DeSantis was elected governor. Youth turnout may have reached new heights this year, but it still paled in comparison to turnout rates among senior citizens, who tend to vote for Republicans. There’s a new national awareness about gun violence, and Pelosi has promised to make legislation to crack down on it a top priority in the House. Yet for the immediate future, at least, any federal efforts to curb access to guns will likely be thwarted by a Republican Senate and a Republican President.

But the tide is turning. Roughly 16 million Americans will have turned 18 between 2016 and 2020, and many of them are acutely aware of the challenges facing their age cohort. “Our generation is being attacked from every side,” says Hogg, 18, a senior political strategist and co-founder of March for Our Lives, who postponed his first year of college to continue his activism full-time. “From not being able to afford to go to college, to gun violence, to not having a habitable planet—it’s just a question of what’s going to kill us first.”

The true test for the March for Our Lives movement is its ability to translate tragedy into sustained momentum, to make a political virtue of the chasm between the old and the young and to turn victims into voters. Hogg has set some ambitious new goals: federal funding for gun-violence research; a gun-violence safety administration, modeled after the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration; and 70% youth turnout in the 2020 presidential election. He wants young people to be so powerful that older politicians can no longer afford to ignore their concerns. And he wants them to reject the political “status quo.”

Hogg knows this won’t happen overnight. Their opponents have money, power and entrenched political capital. But he is sustained by a belief that this movement will outlast them. □

MOON JAE-IN

2018 | THE SHORT LIST

By Charlie Campbell

It was past midnight on May 25, and the mood in the hastily convened national-security meeting in Seoul was dark. U.S. President Donald Trump had just canceled his forthcoming summit with North Korean Supreme Leader Kim Jong Un. Although the official record describes South Korean President Moon Jae-in as simply “perplexed” by the decision, one source present reveals his actual choice of words was so unrestrained it should be considered a “national secret.” But Moon has never been one for public histrionics. Instead, he got to work.

Moon quickly dispatched deputies to the White House and met Kim the next day at the demilitarized zone (DMZ) that divides the Korean Peninsula’s communist and totalitarian North from its democratic South. “He persuaded the North Koreans to calm down and not to ruin the entire process,” says South Korean presidential adviser Moon Chung-in. “And to President Trump he said, ‘You’re a great negotiator, it’s a historic opportunity, don’t lose it.’”

By May 27, the Singapore summit was back on—and with it Moon’s bold plans to mend divisions between the nation he governs and the one his parents fled during the 1950–53 Korean War. Seven decades have passed since the East Asian peninsula was divided. In that time, the two Koreas have





Kim, left, with Moon at the line dividing the two Koreas on April 27

come to bear little resemblance. To the south, a liberal, tech-savvy, U.S.-allied democracy; in the North, an impoverished, third-generation autocracy.

Moon has long held ambitions to reunite the estranged nations. A veteran negotiator, he brokered the last summit between the leaders of North and South in 2007, when he was chief of staff to then South Korean President Roh Moo-hyun. Ten years on, he took office with a clear agenda. First, “economic cooperation, then economic integration and finally full reunification,” he told TIME matter-of-factly on the campaign trail in April 2017.

But it was war that seemed more likely after Moon entered South Korea’s presidential Blue House. The U.S. had a President threatening the Kim regime with “fire and fury like the world has never seen.” There was talk of a strike to test Pyongyang’s resolve. North Korea took the provocative step of testing a ballistic missile capable of devastating any U.S. city. Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi warned that the two were like “accelerating trains coming toward each other with neither side willing to give way.”

Moon helped apply the brakes. Over the course of 2018, the South Korean leader has pursued measured engagement with North Korea while reassuring Washington that their

alliance remains strong. Within a year of Moon-led diplomacy, Trump went from fire and fury to outright affection. After his June summit with Kim, Trump would later say of himself and the young dictator that “we fell in love.”

Still, tangible progress has been slow. While Pyongyang has ceased missile and nuclear tests and returned U.S. prisoners and the remains of missing Korean War veterans, there’s evidence that undeclared missile sites remain active. Negotiations with the U.S. over denuclearization remain fragile. And Moon himself has seen domestic support wane as South Korea’s economy stutters.

Yet on the Korean Peninsula, there’s a sense not just of a global crisis averted but also a new path ahead. Some experts say the way was cleared by North Korea completing its nuclear program. Others cite unprecedented U.N. sanctions driven, in part, by the Trump Administration. But for Ri Myoung, a senior North Korean official who defected to Seoul and uses a pseudonym for security, one man deserves the credit: “North Korea is actively engaging in denuclearization because of Moon Jae-in.”

MOON’S BIG OPPORTUNITY came at the beginning of 2018. Since taking office, he had made clear that he would pursue



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re-engagement under the right conditions. So after Kim offered in his New Year's Day speech to send a delegation to February's Winter Olympics in PyeongChang, Moon seized the opportunity. The two Koreas marched under a united flag and fielded a joint women's hockey team. Moon also received Kim Jong Un's influential sister, Kim Yo Jong, on three occasions during the Games.

Moon was careful to show the visiting delegation respect and reinforce a common sense of Korean pride. Tangerines were given to North Korea to be distributed among divided families; prized matsutake mushrooms were sent the other way. The focus on shared heritage was a shrewd first step. Many South Koreans are more concerned with the personal than the geopolitical, especially the one-fifth of the country with extended family in the North. "It's economic, it's diplomatic. It's demographic, it's social," says David Kang, director of the University of Southern California's Korean Studies Institute. "Nukes are just one strand of a much larger issue for all Koreans."

The show of unity at the Olympics sparked a backlash among South Korean conservatives, who clashed with riot police and burned North Korean flags. But sports diplomacy paid real dividends, prompting a series of meetings between North and South that led to a historic summit on April 27, where Kim became the first North Korean leader to step across the border line and visit the South. The two delegations mixed easily, clinking porcelain cups of soju, the Korean spirit.

The Panmunjom Declaration that emerged from the meeting sought a formal end to the Korean War and the "complete denuclearization" of the peninsula. The two leaders were photographed chatting together on a blue footbridge in the DMZ, with neither minders nor microphones within earshot. There, Kim reportedly told Moon, "If we engage with the Americans more frequently and build trust with them, why should we have nuclear weapons and suffer from it?"

Asked whether he would truly engage in denuclearization talks, Kim put his integrity on the line, saying, "Do you think I am the kind of person [to break my word]?" According to the defector Ri, "For Kim to invoke his honor means he must have been sincere."

Moon's next task was persuading the U.S. to play along. He had already begun the process of getting into Trump's good graces in November 2017, when the new President addressed the South Korean parliament. There, Trump was introduced as "leader of the world." Moon hailed him as "already making America great again" and vaunted his skill as a dealmaker. Later he would say Trump deserved the Nobel Peace Prize.

In appealing to Trump's ego, Moon was perhaps following the playbook of Japan's hawkish Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, who wooed the former reality-TV star over rounds of golf. But the South Korean leader's associates

say his diplomatic style is heartfelt. "Real diplomacy comes from authenticity," Moon Chung-in says. "President Moon never tells jokes, doesn't play golf, but he's very warm and sincere, and conveys his intentions as they are."

Moon helped broker talks during the George W. Bush Administration, when hundreds of millions of dollars was funneled from the South to the North under the so-called Sunshine Policy, driving a wedge between Seoul and Washington. This time Moon sought to do things differently. He insisted that rapprochement happen within the orbit of the U.S.-South Korea alliance and that no money change hands. "I wouldn't say we were naive before," says an official who worked both in Roh's and Moon's administrations and requested anonymity to speak about confidential deliberations. "But we have learned lessons."

In March, Moon took a gamble by sending his diplomats to Washington with a written invitation to Trump from Kim, seeking a meeting. If the mercurial President reacted badly, then any hope of a diplomatic breakthrough would vanish. Moon saw it as vital to deliver the message

undistorted in hope of breaking the escalation cycle. "The situation was so bad at the time, we were under real threat of military attack," says the same administration source. "Our entire future was at stake." The risk paid off, as Trump sent Moon's envoys out to the White House porch to tell the world he had agreed to meet North Korea's dictator.

And so on June 12, Kim met Trump at a lavish resort in Singapore. The event was designed to convey a momentous sense of occasion, and Trump and Kim apparently forged a connection. "He's a very talented man," Trump said of Kim. "He loves his country very much."

**KIM TOOK
PARTICULAR
CARE TO TREAT
MOON AS A
SENIOR FIGURE
WORTHY OF
RESPECT**

IT WAS A STARTLING ELEVATION on the global stage for the last true hermit nation. Until 2018, North Korea wasn't officially speaking to anyone—not Russia, South Korea or even its old ally China. In his six years in power, Kim had never met another world leader. "They just weren't interested in talking," says Mark Lippert, who was U.S. ambassador to South Korea from 2014 to 2017.

Now, they can barely stop. In September, a delegation of 70 South Korean officials, religious leaders and business representatives traveled to Pyongyang. Moon and Kim had 16 hours of official talks over the two nights and three days, keeping the patter up even through meals. "The two First Ladies could hardly get a word in," says Choi Wan-kyu, a delegation member.

During the talks, Kim took particular care to treat Moon as a senior figure worthy of respect. For example, smoking before an elder is taboo in Confucian Korean society. Kim, a chain-smoker, never once lit a cigarette in front of Moon, according to Moon Chung-in and several other observers. Instead, Kim was seen turning to his wife for a surreptitious smoke when Moon was otherwise engaged. "Kim Jong Un is



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Moon and Ivanka Trump, third from right, welcome a North Korean delegation to the Winter Olympics in February

the absolute ruler of North Korea, but in front of President Moon, he felt constrained,” says Moon Chung-in. “It was a sign of deference to Moon.”

Yet while Moon has done more to reunite the two countries than any of his predecessors, North Korea’s nuclear threat remains unresolved. The regime has reportedly snubbed meetings with U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, who warned on Nov. 20 that denuclearization was “lagging behind” blossoming inter-Korea ties.

There’s every reason to be wary. Pyongyang reneged on denuclearization deals struck in 1992, 1994, 2005 and 2012. North Korea has refused to provide a list of its nuclear assets. And on Nov. 12, the Center for Strategic and International Studies, a Washington, D.C., think tank, revealed 13 suspected secret missile facilities. The two sides have yet to agree what “denuclearization” actually means.

In the face of this, Seoul’s call to weaken sanctions on North Korea has chafed some in D.C. “Moon’s eagerness has caused Seoul to act like North Korea’s lawyer, constantly urging Washington to make additional concessions, though it is Pyongyang which is in violation of 11 U.N. resolutions

and in open defiance of the international community,” says Bruce Klingner, a former chief of the CIA’s Korea station who is now with the Heritage Foundation think tank.

If patience is running out, so is time. Moon has only a single, constitutionally mandated five-year term to leverage his relationship with Kim. His domestic popularity is also suffering from the perception that inter-Korea reconciliation has taken precedence over fixing sluggish economic growth and high youth unemployment. “We’re at a very delicate inflection point,” Lippert says. “Moon Jae-in has broken through some paradigms and brought the three leaders further than anyone thought possible. But the hardest tests lie ahead.”

Still, look at what difference a year can make. In 2017, North Korea launched at least 20 missiles and tested a sixth nuclear bomb. In 2018, test sites were destroyed and symbolic transport links reconnected across the DMZ. Kim has shaken hands with leaders of South Korea, Singapore, China and the U.S. Moon has dragged a rogue nuclear-armed dictator in from the cold. At least as of now, the world is safer for it. — *With reporting by* STEPHEN KIM/SEOUL



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NO. **6** | THE CREATOR

RYAN COOGLER

2018 | THE SHORT LIST

By Eliana Dockterman

The Smith Rafael Film Center in Marin County, Calif., doesn't look anything like the places where Ryan Coogler saw movies as a child. A 1930s movie palace adorned with an art-nouveau mural of two goddesses emerging from the sea and sapphire-hued lamps illuminating the lobby, it typically plays indies and foreign films. But as Coogler makes his way inside on a rainy November day, he hears something familiar: the pounding drums from the decidedly mainstream movie he directed, *Black Panther*. He bobs his head to the beat, pulling off his raincoat to reveal a *Jaws* T-shirt.

Jaws is the kind of movie Coogler, 32, was raised on: blockbusters that play to big crowds. In many ways that's exactly the movie he made. And with *Black Panther*, he made an exceptionally good one—not just hugely entertaining, but smart, funny and political. Audiences ate it up. Since premiering in February, *Black Panther* has become the highest-grossing film of 2018 in the U.S. and smashed a handful of other records (among them: highest-grossing solo superhero launch of all time, highest-grossing film by a black director and highest-grossing film starring a primarily black cast). And it won over critics, too—this art-house screening is part of a campaign to make *Black Panther* the first superhero movie nominated for Best Picture at the Academy Awards.





Fans in costume watch the movie in 3-D in Nairobi; Coogler says he had “never seen anything” like the reaction to the film

“When you do a huge movie, some people get the wrong idea that you’re selling out,” says Coogler, sipping coffee in the green room next to the theater. “But I wanted to make a movie for the people.”

That he did. *Black Panther* has done something most other megahits didn’t: it reshaped the world beyond the multiplex. Coogler rendered the film’s setting—the fictional nation of Wakanda, a technologically advanced African country untouched by colonialism—so vividly that it became a kind of cultural shorthand, a vision of a future where black excellence is honored instead of minimized. When the Wakandans venture out into the world, their red, green and black clothing—the colors of the pan-African flag—stand out in a sea of muted suits. When Lupita Nyong’o’s Nakia whips off a heel and wields it as a weapon, it’s a feminist statement—in this film, women do the rescuing. When audiences first see Wakanda, the light seems to dazzle for a reason: it’s an aspirational vision of the world.

Filmgoers attended showings dressed in regal African garb and turned the crossed-arms “Wakanda Forever” salute into a popular greeting. Political activists set up voter-registration booths outside of screenings and

courted voters using the hashtag #WakandaTheVote.

With *Black Panther*, Coogler didn’t just bear the burden of weighty expectations, he exceeded them. “This was a sea change in terms of people being able to feel proud about creating culturally specific films,” says Rhea Combs, curator of film and photography at the National Museum of African American History and Culture. “There has been a long-standing argument about who will appreciate what type of film, and this movie ended that conversation.”

COOGLER WAS BORN in Oakland. His mother, a community organizer, and his father, a juvenile-probation counselor, moved the family to Richmond, Calif., when he was 8. They sent him and his siblings to Catholic school, where Coogler played football and was good enough to get a college scholarship. There, a professor in a creative writing class suggested screenwriting. Coogler went on to film school at the University of Southern California.

After graduating, he began developing what would become his first feature film, *Fruitvale Station*, the true story of Oakland native Oscar Grant, an unarmed man who was shot in the back by a police officer. To make ends meet,



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Coogler took a job as a counselor alongside his father at the Juvenile Detention Center in San Francisco. He has said his time there helped him better understand Grant, whose life was intertwined with the criminal-justice system. The film went on to win the Grand Jury Prize and the Audience Award at Sundance in 2013.

“*Fruitvale* was about the community that I grew up in, and I wanted nothing more than for people in communities like that to see it,” Coogler says. “But when you make an indie film, the theaters that play it tend to be very specific. Those types of films didn’t play at the multiplexes in my neighborhood.”

His next movie got a lot closer. He had grown up watching the *Rocky* movies with his dad, and wanted to explore the racial dynamic in those films. In 2015, his spin-off, *Creed*, which starred *Fruitvale* leading man Michael B. Jordan, grossed nearly \$174 million at the global box office.

Soon after, Disney began courting him to direct *Black Panther*, which would be Marvel’s first superhero film with a protagonist who wasn’t white. Coogler told the studio what was important to him: he had been thinking a lot about identity as it related to being of African descent, and the differences between cultures in the diaspora. He knew he needed to go to Africa, a place he had never been. “For me to do this film,” Coogler says, “I wanted to spend time there.”

Disney said yes. “It was clear 10 minutes into the meeting that he was interviewing us, not the other way around,” says Kevin Feige, the head of Marvel Studios. “This movie started in the soul of this young filmmaker, and people can feel that when they watch it.” Coogler was just 29—the youngest director in Marvel’s history.

Coogler brought back prints from the Maasai tribe for *Black Panther*’s all-female guard, and music that Kendrick Lamar incorporated into the movie’s soundtrack, which debuted at No. 1 on the *Billboard* 200. All of this inspired the world he dreamed up alongside co-writer Joe Robert Cole, cinematographer Rachel Morrison, composer Ludwig Göransson and the rest of a crew with which he’s quick to share credit. In their telling, the superhero world is as fraught and complex as reality. The film centers on T’Challa (Chadwick Boseman), the king of Wakanda, whose claim to the throne is threatened by rival Erik Killmonger (Jordan). Killmonger convinces a faction of Wakandans, whose advanced technology has long been hidden, that their superior weapons could help marginalized people across the world rise up against their oppressors. It soon becomes clear that Killmonger, villainous as he is, might have a point.

“We never wanted to say one character is right and the other wrong,” Coogler says. “You get into dangerous territory if you expect the art you make to change people’s minds. But if someone can watch a film and then go home and talk about it, that’s doing a lot.”

Superhero movies may nod at the importance of liberty or even condemn discrimination. But most of the time, those films quickly turn their attention back to blowing stuff up. *Black Panther* took the big questions head-on: What responsibility do people in power have to empower the oppressed? How should society deal with the scars of colonialism and slavery? How can the culture upend sexist and racist expectations of black women? “Politically, there have been a lot of tensions that have been building up,” says Combs. “So to have a film that speaks to the resilience and excellence of black people, that resonated.”

The fact that T’Challa listens to Killmonger—even if he doesn’t agree with everything he says—helps unite audiences. “We got an opportunity to tell a story in that setting that’s grappling with some of these universal themes,” Coogler says. “It was like, ‘We gotta try and make it work for people who we wouldn’t imagine would be the target audience.’”

THIS MAY BE REMEMBERED as the year that Hollywood finally realized that diversity is good business. Within the

past 12 months, *Crazy Rich Asians* became the highest-grossing romantic comedy in a decade; the Golden Globes nominated a record number of movies made by directors of color; and the boom in TV production has given new platforms to a broader range of creators.

Meanwhile, Coogler is using his newfound clout to support a diverse group of filmmakers. He produced this fall’s sequel to *Creed*, directed by Steven Caple Jr., and will produce *Space Jam 2*, directed by Terence Nance and starring LeBron James. He’ll also direct *Black*

Panther 2 and a long-gestating project called *Wrong Answer*—another collaboration with Jordan—about an Atlanta public school cheating scandal.

He is apprehensive about spreading himself too thin. “If I am producing, am I as good of a director? I ask myself that a lot,” he says. Moreover, he adds, there are fundamental issues with the way the entertainment industry discusses inclusion. “People throw around words like *trend* and *moment*,” Coogler says. “Those words imply that it’s going to come to an end and things are going to go back to normal. I think this is a situation where normal isn’t really normal. The norm is wrong.”

Coogler still feels like an outsider in Hollywood. “I’m not in the rooms consistently enough to say if the conversation has changed,” he says. “And when I am in the room, they’re not going to be talking about that—because I’m there.”

The former athlete compares the film industry to the NBA. “At some point, someone thought it’s risky to put a black person on the court, that people wouldn’t buy tickets. Now owners are like, ‘I just want to win games, and I want the best player,’” he says. “What I hope, for this industry, is we’re transitioning from it even being a question that

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Coogler directing Boseman on set; the two will work together again for the sequel to Black Panther

movies made by people of color or minorities are a risk.”

Black Panther proved that a black superhero could make money. And that may lead studios to believe that a Latinx superhero or Muslim superhero or a queer superhero could make plenty of money, too. (Marvel is reportedly fast-tracking an Asian superhero movie.) But Coogler proved something else that’s not as easy to quantify: in a year marked by division, a movie can unite people. *Black Panther* is important not just because of the tickets it sold—but also because of the way it made people feel.

BACK AT THE SCREENING IN MARIN, *Black Panther* is playing to a rapt audience. The film ends with a pre-scient declaration from T’Challa: “In times of crisis, the wise build bridges, but the foolish build barriers.” The line draws mumbles and nods from the audience. It’s just a few days after the U.S. Border Patrol fired tear gas into a crowd of migrants at the U.S.-Mexico border.

Next door to the theater, Coogler is talking about the movies he saw on the big screen as a child. When he was six, he watched Spike Lee’s *Malcolm X* at Oakland’s Grand Lake Theater while perched on his father’s lap so he could see. “I had never seen a black man that powerful on-screen,” Coogler says. When *Malcolm* died in the film, father and son wept together.

Coogler looks down at his coffee for a moment, wary of inviting comparisons between himself and Lee, one of his role models. But the kids who donned Black Panther masks or replaced dolls of princesses with action figures of T’Challa’s tech-savvy sister Shuri are starved for big-screen heroes. And *Black Panther* allows them to believe the same thing a young Coogler did when he saw Lee’s film: that they, too, could grow up to be powerful. □

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no. 7

THE MODERN ROYAL

MEGHAN MARKLE

2018 | THE SHORT LIST

By Diana Evans

A gospel choir, an African-American preacher, a whirl of wokeness at Windsor. Never before had the likes of Serena Williams or Oprah Winfrey had call to attend St. George's Chapel as wedding guests. Never before had a dreadlocked black woman from Los Angeles gained English monarchy as in-laws, or listened with silent emotion to an impassioned sermon on unity and black pain in their lofty church as her child joined their ranks. When they emerged—Harry and Meghan, now prince and princess, shining in the afternoon light, she resplendent in snowy white and he in his medals—it was the same picture as other royal weddings, but this was a fairy tale for the modern multicultural age.

It's been a good year for a fairy tale. In Britain alone, where Brexit continues to cause chaos, more and more people are relying on food banks, a national homelessness problem has spiraled and the blackened stump of Grenfell Tower still casts a shadow over London's wealthiest districts, there has been due cause for escapism. As if on cue, here was a wayward red-haired prince who had fallen for a sweet-eyed American beauty. Here were bright dresses and glorious hats; mugs, flags, magnets and coasters for adorning our homes with emblems of their love. They would live happily ever after and eat cucumber sandwiches with Queen Elizabeth. They would have





With its mix of tradition and modernity, Harry and Meghan's ceremony was like no other royal wedding

lucky babies whose silver spoons might one day turn into crowns or, if not, tiaras, or diamonds, or a nice brooch.

The lead-up to the wedding on May 19 was marked by a rampant royal hysteria. On the day itself, a spring Saturday of perfect God-sent weather, there was that hush in the streets that happens only in moments of small-screen global spectacle, millions of people watching, \$40 million carefully spent. Like all fairy tales, this story has a familiar arc: the prince, the romance, a ride in a horse-drawn carriage. A significant variation, though, is that our heroine is a self-made career woman and an avowed feminist. The question now seems less about what the royal family might do for Markle, than what she might do for them.

THIS SELF-PROCLAIMED “CALIFORNIA GIRL” had already slotted into British high society with apparent ease and poise. If it vexed her that Princess Michael wore a racist blackamoor brooch at last year's Buckingham Palace Christmas luncheon, we didn't know about it, and her own presence, in its juxtaposition, did the work of highlighting a grotesque faux pas that would probably otherwise have gone unnoticed. Since the wedding, she has worn the right

clothes and sat in the right way, with her legs crossed at the ankles instead of at the knees. According to a recent YouGov survey, Prince Harry is now the most popular member of the royal family, and his new wife likely has something to do with the broadening of his appeal.

Markle has become the epitome of what British author Nikesh Shukla has popularly described (in the anthology of the same name) as “the good immigrant,” the newcomer who pleases, aligns with or is of some benefit to the host country—as opposed to the “bad immigrant,” who is undesirable and can therefore never truly belong. While Caribbean immigrants caught up in this year's “Windrush” scandal have been undergoing deportations and refusals of re-entry into Britain, the newest member of the royal family has passed the figurative citizenship test with flying colors. She is what is conventionally presented in the mainstream as the acceptable face of blackness, pale enough to move through majestic luncheons and palace rooms, while at the same time making the 2019 Powerlist of the 100 most powerful black people in Britain, her African heritage simultaneously acknowledged and celebrated.

Yet any speculation that Markle's presence in the

monarchy heralds a step forward in Britain's detachment from its colonial past is as ridiculous as that long-quashed idea of Barack Obama effecting a post-race age. She is simply a woman who fell in love. But her movements in her new role so far have been dynamic, notable and useful in their commitment to inclusion and giving voice to the marginalized and disadvantaged. She has helped draw attention to the problem of "period poverty" by including the Myna Mahila Foundation, a charity addressing menstrual hygiene in India, on her and Harry's list of wedding-donation recipients. Her first proper gig as royal patron was for the publication this past September of *Together: Our Community Cookbook*, a collection of recipes from women affected by the Grenfell Tower fire, which killed 72 people in June 2017.

Where in her acting career being biracial was, according to Markle, at times a hindrance ("I wasn't black enough for the black roles and I wasn't white enough for the white ones, leaving me somewhere in the middle as the ethnic chameleon," she wrote in *Elle* in 2015), in her career as princess and duchess, she seems intent on owning it.

WHAT SEEMS MORE AT THREAT, more pressing, is a certain ferociousness of feminism. Is there really space in the British monarchy for a once precocious activist who, at age 11, got Procter & Gamble to change a chauvinistic ad for dishwasher liquid, and went on to become a U.N. Women's Advocate for Political Participation and Leadership? Is it possible to be a good princess, a good immigrant and a good feminist all at the same time?

In order for this marriage to take place at all, we witnessed a partial erasure of a whole person. Two months before the wedding Markle was baptized at St. James's Palace by the Archbishop of Canterbury using water from the River Jordan, leaving behind her Catholic background. Rachel Zane of *Suits* is long gone, the acting career relegated to just a few lines of her biography on the royal website. Twitter, Facebook and Instagram accounts have been deleted; her Internet profile has been wiped clean. With her mother Doria Ragland the only representative of Markle's former life present at the wedding, the replacement of her father with Prince Charles as her companion partway down the aisle seemed only a gesture. In effect, Markle gave herself away, acquiring a brand-new title, Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Sussex, and speedily becoming pregnant with the seventh in line to the throne.

Despite the firm matriarchal icons of the monarchy such as Queen Elizabeth II and Queen Victoria, women

**THE QUESTION
NOW SEEMS LESS
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lower down the ranking who exercise their own singular power have not fared well in majesty; it is not part of the fairy tale. By their nature, fairy tales deem women passive and neutral, which is why Diana Spencer became an affront, even an aberration, to the monarchy once she fully embraced her power. Since Kate Middleton married Prince William, we have seen her diminish from a figure capable, in the eyes of the media, of modernizing the royal family to a woman defined (again, at the hands of the media, over which she has no control) by her womb and her wardrobe. For royal brides there is one easy way to be royal, and that is to be slender, smiling, unopinionated and obedient to the machine. Anything else and you're a Fergie or a Diana, which is much more interesting (and less dangerous) for the young girls watching, but ultimately lacking in longevity. Will Markle fare better? Or is there a chance that she will simply become another quiet royal waif, swallowed whole into luxury and impartiality, her dresses more important than her voice? Let's hope not.

The monarchy have a fortune in the hundreds of millions and are not obliged to pay tax on the additional annual



Queen Elizabeth, the Duchess and Duke of Sussex, and the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge gather on the Buckingham Palace balcony in July

sovereign grant they receive from taxpayers. This unearned affluence must feel like a slap in the face to people who can't afford homes or sanitary towels. Yet one day last year, the morning after Grenfell, I glimpsed what makes the great injustice of the monarchy possible. I went to West London to cry for the burning, and happened to arrive at the shelter for survivors just before the Queen. She emerged from her shiny black car in her royal blue coat and matching hat, Prince William at her side. Here she was, our trusty monarch, small and stooped, impartial and apolitical, shaking hands and looking into the faces of the traumatized.

In such moments, it is not the royal wealth we see, or the story behind the wealth. It is the fairy tale, the tradition that will never change. The acknowledgment, implicitly, that it's the least they can do. This will be Markle's most complicated task as a royal: whether she can be a part of that gilded national emblem of stability, that strange oblivious comfort, without losing herself.

Evans is the author of Ordinary People, The Wonder and 26a

MATT DUNHAM—AP/SHUTTERSTOCK

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FACTS STILL EXIST

By Jennifer Egan

ONLINE, LIES AND TRUTH LOOK THE SAME. THIS HAS been a boon for professional liars, who take advantage of the fact that two-thirds of Americans get their news from social media, and use these platforms to market falsehoods—as moneymaking ventures (paranoid fantasies make excellent clickbait); as vehicles of personal fame; or, for foreign powers like China and Russia, as a way to spread propaganda in hopes of influencing voters and thereby our elections.

For the unwitting consumer of fraudulent news, the avoidance of hard truths is surely part of the draw. How much better it would be if the Sandy Hook massacre really were a hoax, rather than an actual slaughter of 20 kindergartners and six school staff members. What a relief to conclude that hundreds of international climatologists are lying rather than face the perilous state of our planet—and the tiny window of time we have to preserve life as we know it. Scary visions of Hillary Clinton or George Soros at the center of a web of evil offer rewards of simplicity and a scapegoat. The opioid effect of these fabrications provides short-term solace at the cost of the sobriety we need to solve intractable problems like gun violence and climate change. It's a vicious cycle: the more dire the reality, the more welcome the escape.

Cannily, President Trump has co-opted the term *fake news* and now lobes it freely at stories that point out his own misdeeds. In the minds of those who believe in him, he is able to neutralize facts. This is a basic tool of the autocrats he admires, like Viktor Orban, who recently won re-election in Hungary by claiming that the country—whose population has among the lowest proportions of foreign-born or immigrant members in Europe—is being invaded by migrants. Or Saudi Arabia's Mohammed bin Salman, who maintains his ignorance of Jamal Khashoggi's murder in the face of strong evidence of his connection to it. Authoritative lying debases the truth. The resulting confusion of fantasy and reality is the definition of psychosis, a perilously vulnerable mental state. The hazards of fraudulent news go even deeper than spurring violent or crazy action or opening us to foreign control. If reasonable debate devolves into my truth vs. yours, the winner is the one yelling loudest—or holding the gun. Beneath the false bottom of

fraudulent news is the danger of tyranny.

It is imperative that journalists continue to call out falsehoods. But we must also understand that these exposés can help keep lies alive. “An image ... becomes all the more interesting with our every effort to debunk it,” the historian Daniel Boorstin wrote presciently in 1961 of America's burgeoning media culture. Our President's enthrallment of the media is the source of his power; the very qualities that appall his detractors keep us riveted to the spectacle of his presidency.

A MEDIASPHERE DESIGNED for spectacle can't be expected to fix the oversimplification it creates. We need writers for that, and we need them badly. Literature, like democracy, is built of a plurality of ideas. Poems, plays, essays, biographies, short stories and every other form of literary practice partake of the complex range of perception and thought specific to human beings. By writing and reading, we remind ourselves of the value of empathy, subtlety and contradiction. Literature is an antidote to the blunt distortions—good vs. evil, us vs. them—that are so easily exploited by those who would manipulate us.

Writers have been instrumental in the overthrow of repressive regimes from the French Revolution to the Velvet Revolution, which made playwright Vaclav Havel the President of then Czechoslovakia.

Writers tend to fare badly under autocrats. Dictators understand very well that the strength of thought and analysis that literature embodies is a threat to the mind control that is an essential feature of tyranny. In countries like China, Russia, Turkey, Myanmar and Bangladesh, writers are routinely jailed or killed for creating work their governments find threatening. For American writers, the reality of such scrutiny and peril can be hard to fathom. We need to write now, write well—tell the truth in all its messy complexity. It's our best shot at helping to preserve a democracy in which facts still exist and all of us can speak freely.

**WE NEED TO
WRITE NOW,
WRITE WELL—
TELL THE TRUTH
IN ALL ITS MESSY
COMPLEXITY**

Egan is president of PEN America and a Pulitzer Prize-winning author. Her most recent novel is Manhattan Beach

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